ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΑ δυσπαράλληλα,

OR,

# The Loyal Subjects Indignation, FOR HIS Royal Sovereign's DECOLLATION;

Expressed in an

*Unparallel'd PARALLEL*

Between the

*Professed murtherer* of K. SAUL,

and the

*Horrid actual Murtherers* of KING

# CHARLES I.

The Substance whereof was delivered

In a

# SERMON

Preached at

*Allhallows Church* in NORTHAMPTON,

On (the *Day* appointed for

ANNIVERSARY HUMILIATION

in reference to that *execrable Fact*) *Jan.*30.1660.

By SIMON FORD B. D. Minister there, and Chaplain to his K MAJESTY.

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To the

RIGHT HONOURABLE

# JOHN

Earl of *LAUDERDAIL*, Viſcount *Metellan*, Lord *Thirleſton* and *Bolton*, One of the *Gentlemen of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber*, Principal *Secretary of State* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and One of His *Majeſties* moſt Honourable *Privy Council* in *both Kingdoms*.

Right Honourable,

WHen I had the Happineſs to be firſt known to your Lordſhip, during your Late Tyrannical and tedious Impriſonment at Windſor Caſtle (for which I ſtill acknowledge my ſelf obliged to your own Condeſcention, inviting me thereunto) I remember your Lordſhip was pleaſed to acquaint me, that ſome Books of mine formerly publiſhed, had been part of the entertainment of your private hours, during the vacancy which that barbarous Perſecution gave you from Publick Buſineſs. And the remembrance hereof emboldneth me to preſume, that your Lordſhips Library will afford this Little Piece alſo a place among its Fellows: Nor

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am I altogether out of hope, that it may have the like favour of approbation at your Lordships hands, from the experience then given me of the value which your Lordship then afforded me you put upon them: *Especially, when I consider, that the subject matter of it is* Loyalty; *for which your* Lordship *then suffered so deeply under the heavy hands of the* Late bloudy Tyrant and Usurper; *and for which I have been for several years persecuted by the* Murderers *of our* Late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, *for endeavouring to obstruct them in the quiet possession of his vacant Seat, by both* refusing to subscribe, *and also bearing publick* Testimony *from the Pulpit against the* Subscription *of that* accursed Engagement, *imposed by them in order to a post justification of that* horrid Fact, *the Extirpation of the* Royal Posterity, *and the Settlement of* themselves *in their Rights, by colour of a publick and* National Consent.

*And I assure you* (my Lord) *that the* Conscience hereof *(together with that little* Contribution *which (in my low capacity) I have (through Gods Goodness) lived to give towards the* Restauration *and* Settlement *of his* present Majesty, *my most* Gracious Soveraign, *and* Royal Master, *(whom the Divine Protection long preserve) is not the least of my* Comforts, *nor (I hope) shall be to my* dying Day. *Upon the comfortable experience whereof (as also upon the conviction of those Doctrines, which in this, and my* former Parallel, *I have published to the world) I am resolved as long as I live (through Gods Grace) to seek the* Peace *and* Welfare, *and Support (to my capacity) the* Crown *and* Dignity *of my most* righteous Soveraign, *and bid a perfect defiance to all Persons and Principles whatsoever, that are* given to change.

*Now the* Lord *grant that the guilt of the Late* Horrid Murder *upon the* Lords Anointed, *may be so wiped off from the Score of* these Nations, *that we be never visited with*

*those*

*those very evils, or worse, (for a just punishment thereof) to prevent which, the Contrivers and Executors of it, took so irregular and unlawful a course. I mean, that the* violent revengefulness *of some* Spirits *among us, may not re-produce such woful* Tragedies, *as God hath mercifully delivered us from once and again, within a few years last past, and perpetually honour his just and rightful Successor, our* present Soveraign, *with the most Noble and Glorious* Title, *of the* Allayer of our mutual heats and animosities, *the* Moderator *of all our* Differences, *and the* Reconciler *of us each to other (even whether we* will *or* no) *by the Interposition of his* Royal Authority. *Let* Ἀμνησία *be his perpetual* Motto, *and the* inviolable Observation *of all his Acts of* Pardon *and* Oblivion, *be his* Memorial *and Honourable* Remembrance *to all Generations; and may your* Lordships Counsels *be perpetually assistant to Him (as I doubt not but they will) in all things of* that Tendency; *which will not only preserve your Name in that Repute which you have hitherto maintained amongst all pious and sober persons, but render you a Councellor in whom there* will be safety *to the Person and Throne of his Sacred Majesty, and make good the Character, which amongst other your Honourers, have been given of your* Lordships *Wisdom and Temper, by*

Right Honourable,

Your Lordships most Humble

and Affectionate Servant,

SIMON FORD.

ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΑ Ἀναστολλὰ,

OR,

# The Loyal Subjects Indignation, FOR HIS Royal Sovereign's Decollation, &c.

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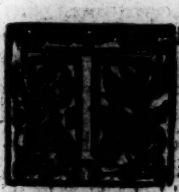
2 SAM. 1. 14.

*And David said unto him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*



THis *Chapter* contains in it *a relation* of certain passages concerning the *death of King Saul*, (which whether *true* or *false* (seeing we must take them upon the credit of a *fugitive souldier*) can hardly be put out of question; though *we*, (as probably *David*, to whom it was made, *did*) will at present suppose them *true*:) and the *carriage of David* thereupon. The *whole story* whereof seems to be recorded

The *Introduction* to the Text.

An *Amalekites Narrative* of the *death of Saul*.

of purpose for the *vindication of the holy man*, from the unjust imputation of [illegible] and [illegible] to take away his *Soveraigns life*, by the [illegible] which he had formerly *sworn* against him. And [illegible] mentioned, as evidences of his innocence.

1. His [illegible] grief for that *lamentable death* which (by the relation [illegible]) he [illegible] had [illegible] him, v. 11, 12.

2. His [illegible] and [illegible] the person who professed himself [illegible] to [illegible], v. 13, to 17.

3. His *pious endeavour* to perpetuate the memory of his *deceased Soveraign* in a *mournfull Ditty* composed by himself, and appointed in succeeding Ages to be sung in a solemn manner by the *children of Judah*. To which purpose, he caused it to be recorded in a *book* kept (as it seems by *Josh.* 10. 13.) of purpose to preserve the *memorials* of eminent men, called the *book of Jasher*, or the *Upright*; and gave it (in remembrance of the weapons of warre which (it appears by 1 *Sam.* 31. 3.) were most fatall in that battel wherein *Saul* received his foyle and first wound) the title of *Keshath*, or the *Bow*, of which you have the particular occasion from v. 1 [illegible] and.

My *Text* comes under the *second* of these mentioned particulars, and is the verse wherein *David* [illegible] his *deep resentment* of the related fact, with a just horrour and indignation: *David said to him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords anointed?*

Which *words*, because they relate to a preceding *Narrative*, made by an *Amalekite* (a mere Tenant of *Saul's*, as is likely, escaped out of that battel before mentioned) concerning the *manner of the Kings death*: We will take a little time before we come to a particular view of them, to examine the considerable passages in it, and circumstances relating to it.

And it is observable, that the *villain* expresses [illegible] and relation, a strange mixture of

1. *Confidence.*
2. *Caution.*

Managed with a strange

1. *Confidence.*

First, *Confidence*, in that he took the boldnesse [illegible] *relator* of such a *story* concerning *himself*, and that in [illegible] *authority*, which an ordinary person would have trembled to have been charged withall by another. And that which must [illegible] off his *confidence*,

*sidence*, is, that the person before whom he confesseth himself guilty of procuring *Saul's* death, was his immediate Successour, *David*, who by his death became actually *King*. Had he been never so slightly read in *politicks*, he might have learned, that *succeeding Kings*, (however, they may look on the news of their *Predecessors death* as acceptable tidings, yet) seldom look favourably upon those who have been *Instruments* in making the royal Seat void for them; as considering, that the same persons who have been so *kind to them*, upon like inducements, may be easily tempted to do the *like courtesie for others*, as occasion serves.

But (it seems) *the Wretch* built his *confidence* upon *three probable conjectures*, in all of which (nevertheless) he was sorely *mistaken*. Upon mistaken grounds.

1. That *David*, being by *Gods appointment* and *Samuels unction*, the next in succession to *Saul*, might by his *readiness* to grasp the *Scepter*, be tempted to make another judgement of the fact, then otherwise he would; and account his service *meritorious*, who had holpen him to it sooner then in the course of nature it would have fallen. He made an ill conjecture (it appears) at the temper of *David's* spirit, which was not *so sharp set* upon the *dish* of Royalty (however *tempting* in it self, and to vulgar *appetites*) but that he could *stay* till Gods providence in a regular way *carved it* to him. How much mind soever he had to the *golden apple*, which sets all the world at odds, *Dominion*, yet had he no mind to have the *Tree* on which it grew, *battered*, to make it *fall* before the *time*.

2. That however *David* might be too mortified to bite at the bait of *Ambition*, yet secret *revenge* might tickle him into a good humour, when he understood in what manner *divine vengeance* had overtaken his *deadly enemy*, and *implacable persecutor*. But *David* had learned, *that a gracious soul is frequently the more endangered by being secure from dangers*. That, *a state of persecution well husbanded, is the best Christian soil for grace to thrive in*. That, be the benefit accrewing by the fall of *enemies* never so great, yet *to rejoyce at the destruction of him that hath no when evil hath found him*, is not only a *vicious disposition* in *morality*, but a *sin* of no ordinary size in *Divinity*, Job 35. 15. and especially, when the *person* so suffering is the *Lords anointed*; and so, the *private advantage* accrewing thereby to any person, is too inconsiderable a compensation to be laid in ballance against a *publique loss*. And upon this account his

*politicks* failed the *Relator* in his *second* presumption.

3. That *David* had been in *Arms* against *Saul* for divers years, and was at this time in a *posture of defence* against him in a *frontier Town* of an enemies Country. These *considerations* gave very great *suspicion* that he designed the *death of Saul* himself, and so was (at least intentionally) a *partner* in *guilt* with him who effected it. But the *Mistrust* either knew not, or was willing not to know that *Davids Arms* were meerly *defensive*, not *offensive*; that, as his *warrant* for wearing them was *extraordinary*, and much different from other subjects in like cases, so his *temper* in the use of them was *extraordinary* also: and *lastly*, that he had *more than once* given evidence of no lesse, when both *opportunity*, and *temptation* from his most intimate friends, had put it to the utmost *trial*, 1 Sam. 24. & 26. And thus was he *mistaken* in his *third* conjecture, which bottomed his *Conscience*. And possibly, he himself might have some twinges and reproaches of suspicion that he might be so; and that, in the midst of his boldnesse, makes him to manage his relation (in the *second* place) with much

2. *Caution* in his *Artifices* & *Plea* for *justification* or *extenuation* of the *Fact*.

Secondly, *Caution*; Which appears in several particulars observable in his *carriage* and *narrative*, whereby he seems of purpose to design the extenuation of this fact which he assumed the boldnesse thus to relate. As

1. He relates only the death of *Saul*, *Davids enemy*. v. 5.

1. That though he brought the tidings of both *Saul's* and *Jonathans* death, yet he pretends not to have any such particular knowledge of *Jonathans* death, as he had of *Saul's*, though *David* asked him concerning them both; lest *David* should by the circumstances of his own relation, have suspected him guilty of *Jonathans* death also, as he confessed himself of *Saul's*. He knew that friendship which was between *David* and *Jonathan*, would have endangered him to a more *severe scrutiny*, then he hoped he should undergo for *Saul's*. At least, he was not so ready to insist on that part of the story, which he knew was the most *unwelcome*, and therefore chose to insist only on that which he hoped would be *better entertained*. He had indeed slain *Davids enemy*, and so could give the most perfect relation of his death: but could say little but from the voice of the people, concerning the death of *his friends*.

2. He justifieth his Fact.

2. That though he confesseth he had an hand in the *death of Saul*, yet he was *requested* by himself to do it. *He said unto him, stand upon me, I pray thee, and slay me*, ver. 9. Now, *volenti non fit injuria*;

*injuria*; and how much lesse, *rogati*? No man is injured, but against his will; and therefore, it cannot (in any reason) come under the notion of *Injury*, to satisfie anothers *Request*, which hath in it a superlative degree of *Voluntariness*. Besides, he was his *Sovereign*, and so his *Requests* adopted the Authority of *Commands*. And if his *Sovereigns Command* might warrant him to take away the life of *another*, why might it not justifie him rather in the case of his *own*? seeing what is a mans *own*, is more properly and directly in his power to dispose of, than what is *anothers*. Add to this; that it was the *last Office* of Love and Service that he was capable of performing towards him; and that so *great*, that as he had cause to believe, that *Saul himself* thanked him for it in his dying thoughts, so his very *Ghost*, if it were present, could not but attest, that no man ever merited more highly from *Saul*, than he had done.

3. That there was *Reason* enough why *Saul* should account no lesse of this Service, for no man in his condition, but would have *courted death*, more *amorously* than ever he did the *dearest Object of his Affections*: *Wounded* he was by his own hand, and as one that *longed for death, he had digged for it* into his own Breast, as *for hid Treasure*: But the *Channel* he had made for *Life* to run out at, was too *narrow* to give it a *speedy Vent*, which he so earnestly desired. And how could his eyes endure to see his *Beloved Sovereign* lie in that misery, wherein *Life* was his greatest *Burden*, and not *ease* him of it? Besides, Had there been any grounds to hope, he might recover of the wound he had given himself, no Subject he had, should have been more ready to have bound it up, and attempted the Cure, than himself. But sure he was, that long he *could not live*, V. 10. And to have protracted his *Life*, when there was only so much remaining in him, as served to augment *the anguish of his death*, had been the greatest Cruelty. So that, his condition considered, he could not but highly merit, by dispatching him quickly. Or if his *Charity* to him in that case might in any construction be interpreted *criminal*, yet the guilt could not be such, as to render him the *thousandth part of a Murderer*, seeing he could be no further chargeable with it, than that *pitiful fragment of life* amounted unto which he took away.

By his dangerous condition.

Job 3. 21.

4. That had he not done him the *kindness* of releasing his weary soul, he had undoubtedly fain into the hands of the *uncircumcised*

By the Philistims pursuit of him.

*cised Philistines*, which he professed to be his great fear, 1 *Sam.* 31. 4. And so had *doubly* died by the *Wounds* and *Barbarities* of his *Heathen Enemies*: For, *the Chariots and Horsemen followed hard after him*, V. 6.

By his *unpremeditated* and *providential coming to the place* where he lay.

5. That he brought *no design* with him to the *place*, where he did that *Unhappy Act*. For he was by meer *Providence*, while he fled for his own life, cast upon that lamentable Object: *He happened by chance upon Mount Gilboa*, V. 6. and there he *found Saul leaning upon his Spear*: And this consideration will clear him from all *prepensed malice*, which is essentially requisite to constitute a *Murderer*: So that in this case *killing* was no *Murder*, Besides, such was his *haste*, that he was in, to escape with his *own life*, that he had not the least time to deliberate upon any such course as might have saved *Saul's*, or to debate with himself concerning the *Lawfulness* or *Unlawfulness* of the Fact, being hardly himself, through his own *fear*, and the *suddenness* of the *surprise* by so unexpected a *Providence*.

By his *preserving and restoring the Royal Spoyles*.

6. That whereas it might possibly be supposed, that some *covetous desire* of enriching himself with the *Royal Spoyles*, tempted him to the Fact; to clear himself from any such suspition, he had *brought* with him, and now tendered to his Lawful Successor, the *Crown that was upon his head, and the Bracelet that was upon his Arm*, V. 10. Which he took off after he was dead, to preserve them from worse hands.

By the *mourning habit* which he made the Relation in.

7. And lastly, That it had been, and still was *his unspeakable grief*, that he was so unhappy, as to be any way drawn in to be instrumental in so sad a Business. That he had already spent more *Tears for it*, than he *drew drops of blood in it*; not because he thought himself in the least criminal, but because he had been so unfortunate, as to do that which looked like so great a Crime. This, though it be not recorded as the Language of *his Lips*, yet so much is recorded, *v.* 2. concerning the *Gait* in which he presented himself to *David*, as may justifie a conjecture, that he intended it as no small part of his vindication: He had *rent his cloaths*, to testifie the *rending of his heart*, and *covered himself with ashes*, to shew how willingly he could have laid himself down in the dust for his dear Master, if by dying he could have redeemed his Life.

His entertainment from *David*.

*Pleas* as *plausible*, as to *balance a Fall* could possibly admit of. After which, we may suppose him *pausing* a while, and *travelling* with

*with expectation* of some great reward from *David*, before whom he fancied to himself to have so well acquitted himself, that he doubted not, but his *Murder* would advance it self to the reputation of *Merit*. But my Text tels you, how *David* disappointed his *expectations*, took down his confidence, and answered all his *pleadings*, by setting before him the atrociousness of his Fact, *nakedly*, and *in it self* considered in mitigation whereof, no *Circumstances* ought to be admitted to consideration: For, be all that thou hast said, true, (replies *David*) yet art thou not in the least excusable. For, *How wast thou not afraid* (upon whatever Motives, or with whatsoever intentions) *to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*

And thus have I led you through the *Context* to the *Text*, by a Preface somewhat *tedious* (I confess) but yet very *necessary*, to the full *understanding* and profitable *improvement* of it, as you shall see hereafter. Mean while, may it please you, with me, to observe, in this Reply of *David's*, these three Parts considerable, Division of the Text.

1. *Quid*, or what he replies; That *it was a fearful sin for him to stretch out his hand to destroy the Lords Anointed.*

2. *Quis*, or the Person that made it; *David* said.

3. *Quomodo*, or the manner of his Reply, which is by way of vehement Interrogation: *How wast thou not afraid*, &c.

First, The *Quid*, or Substance of his Reply, importing the Heinousness of the sin of this *Amalekite*.

To which there is a twofold Evidence;

1. The *Aggravations of the Crime* here condemned, taken from,

1. The *Person that committed*, but ought to have *avoided* it with holy *Fear*; *Thou*, under a *twofold* Capacity:

1. *Thou, a Private man.*

2. *Thou, a Subject*, by present relation (at least) to *Saul*, being his *Souldier*.

2. The *Person on whom* it was committed, and who ought to have been otherwise dealt withal, considered in a *double* Capacity.

1. Of his *Civil Quality*; He was *Unctus*, a Person who had received *Regal Unction*, and was thereby separated from the *Vulgus*, or common sort of men, a *King* solemnly

lemnly inaugurated, *The Anointed.*

2. Of his *Sacred Relation*, and so he was *Messiah Jehovæ*, the *Lords Anointed*, Gods Deputy and Vicegerent by special Commission.

3. The *Fact it self*, which was,

1. In its *Nature*, bloudy, *he destroyed him.*

2. In its *Principle*, voluntary, *he stretched forth his hand to do it*, which imports a purpose and resolution of heart to do it.

3. In its *Manner*, it was done ἀφόβως, without fear; He *was not afraid* to do that Act which he should have trembled at.

II. The *Invalidity of all* his former *Pleas*, or whatever might be urged in his defence; gathered from the connexion of the Verse with the preceding Relation; *David* takes no notice of any of his Pleas at all, which imports this much [although all this, and much more might be truly said in his defence, yet it was nevertheless horrid to *David*, nor ought to have been to him.]

Secondly, *Quis*, or the Person replying, *David said*; who comes under a *threefold* Consideration also.

I. According to *what* he truly and indeed *was.*

1. As a *man*; one truly *pious*, and incomparably *tender-conscienced*; [*David* (the Saint) *said*]

2. As a *King*; For *Sauls death* actually possessed him of the *Throne*, though he were not possessed of the *Kingdom*: [*David* (the King) *said.*]

II. According to the *mistaken Idea* or *Notion* under which the *Malefactor* represented him to himself in the grounds of his forementioned *Confidence*; and so he comes under a *threefold* view:

1. As a *Person* mortally *persecuted by Saul*; who never left *hunting him as a partridge upon the Mountaines*, till he had hunted him into a Forreign Countrey, where now he was.

2. As a *Person* formerly *in Arms against him*; and yet standing upon his guard, in *Ziglag*, the place of his present *Retreat.*

3. As the *Person* who had *long* (by divine Warrant) *expected the devolution of* Sauls *Crown* upon *himself.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Quomodo*, or the manner of his *Reply*; which imports an *unusual heat and eagerness*, a strange *concitation of passions*. For it is by way of *vehement Interrogation*, *aculeated* with abundance of quick *Tartness*.

It is not barely *Assertio docentis*, an affirmation of his *Duty*, for then he needed to have exprest it only thus; [*Thou oughtest to have been afraid.*]

Nor barely, *Querela dolentis*, an expression of his *grief* for the sad accident: For then he had not needed to have languaged it otherwise than thus; [*Alas! What a fearful thing was it for thee thus to stretch forth thy hand*, &c.]

Nor barely, *Questio discentis*, an enquiry concerning the *temper* (or *distemper* rather) wherein he did it, which might have been sufficiently expressed thus; [*Wast thou not afraid*, &c.

But it is *Interrogatio exprobrantis*, a smart interrogation, *exprobrating* to him the audacious impiousness of the Fact. [*How wast thou not afraid*, &c.] Which expresseth *all the rest*, and *more* too. In a word, it speaks three *Passions*, which *David* felt upon the sad Relation.

1. *Grief*; For so do we find that Passion venting it self by a *doleful Interrogation*, Lam. 4.1. & Isa. 1.21. *&c.*
2. *Wonder and Astonishment*; that a Person so abject and contemptible, should arrive at the confidence to direct a steady blow at the heart of his *Soveraign*. And such [*How's*] do we also find in Scripture: See *Isa.* 14.12. *Prov.* 30.13. &c.
3. *Horrour* and *Abomination* of the monstrous impiety, as well as daringness of the *Act*. And we are not without Examples of the Expression of this passion in a like Form. See *Gen.* 39.9. *Hest.* 8.6. *&c.*

And thus, having crumbled my *Text* to pieces, for the fuller Explication of it, by the due weighing of *every Word* contained in it, it will be needful to look *them* over *severally*. And handled.

1. As they relate to the *Chapter* and *Narrative* contained in it.

2. As they may be *accomodated* by way of *parallel* to the *sad occasion* of *this daies Solemnity*.

And First, As they *relate to the Chapter* and its *Narrative*, it will be useful to consider the *three Parts* of the *Text* distinctly, the *First*, *First view* of the *Text*.

*first*, by way of *Doctrine*, the *second* and *third* by way of *Inference* or *Application*.

Part 1. *Quid.* Or the *hainousness of this Fact* of the *Amalekite* in killing *Saul*, and (under that) of *King-killing* in general. *Evidenced*;

1. First then, The *Quid* or *Doctrine* which is by *David* in the *Text* in ended, to be amplified to the utmost, is, the *horrid wickedness* of this *particular* Fact of the *Amalekites killing of King Saul* (*in Hypothesi*) and thence (*in Thesi*) or *generally*, *the hainousness of the sin of murdering Kings*, under whatever diminutive considerations it may be presented.

Now this Intention, *David* in the *Text* doth amply make good, (as before was intimated.)

1. By so emphatical a *Collection of the Circumstances of the Crime* confessed, which the distribution of the Text enumerates.

2. By the *rejecting of all those Pleas* (as invalid) which either were expressed, or might be implied, in the particulars of his *defence* before mentioned.

First, By the *aggravating Circumstances*. Taken From the *Person committing the Fact*.

I. The *aggravating Circumstances* of the Fact, in the Text, are,

1. The *Considerations* under which the *Murderer* came, (*viz.*) of *a private person*, and one who (of a *Forreigner*, an *Amalekite*, whose life *Saul* had spared, contrary to the express *Command of God*, 1 Sam. 15.) was admitted into the condition of a *Subject* and *Souldier* under him; and (if the conjecture of some, that this *Amalekite* was *Doegs* Son, be true) had received a peculiar Obligation from him, in the advancement bestowed upon his *Father*.

But (to omit his Obligations, which indeed render the Fact monstrously ingrateful, could they be proved; but being only received from *Jewish-Tradition*, and not asserted in the *Text*, I shall make no further use of them) in that he was (confessedly) a *private person*, and a *Subject*, it was evidence sufficient of the horridness of the Fact, that *he did it*. For, for a *private man* to execute a power of *Life and death*, was an high *presumption*, and would amount to no less than *Murder*, if acted upon the *Meanest* and most *Criminal Person* in the world: But when to the *Privateness* of the *Condition*, is added *Subjection* also, this adds a far greater aggravation. Had the *Amalekite* slain his *equal*, he had been a *Murderer*; but the slaying his *Superior*, to whom he was lawfully subject, rendered him a *Parricide*. They that justifie the power of *Subjects* over the Lives of their *Lawful Superiors*, had need find

out

but a *Logick*, that can verifie *Contradictions*; for such must that Doctrine necessarily maintain, that renders the same Persons *ad invicem*, towards each other, and at once, *Soveraign* and *Subject*; the *Subject* his own *Princes Soveraign*, and the *Soveraign* his own *Subjects Vassal*. So that the sin of *King-killing*, acted by the hands of *Subjects*, upon this bare account, amounts to no lesse than an *Usurpation of a Jurisdiction* inconsistent with all Principles or right Reason, and all Lawes, both of God and man, and renders the Person that is guilty of it, superlatively criminal, as one who forfeits his *Soul* to *God*, and his *Life* to *man*, by the guilt of the highest *Premunire* that can be incurred. This is the *first* emphatical *aggravation* of the Fact, from the *Person committing it*. Let *Saul* deserve to die never so justly, yet what Commission had the *Amalekite*, a *private Person*, and his *Subject*, to kil him? And so *David* tels him:

*——— At tu indignus quid faceres tamen?*

[*How wast not* [*Thou*] *afraid?*]

II. The *Fact* is yet rendred more *hainous*, by the *Second Emphatical aggravation* in the *Text*, taken from the *Person* slain, *Saul*, under a *double* Consideration: From the *Person murdered*, who was,

He was { 1. *Unctus.* 2. *Unctus Domini.*

I. He was *Unctus*, (in his *Civil* Quality) He was a Person solemnly separated from other men, an *Anointed King*. *Anointing* (or whatever Ceremony of Investiture is, (by the Customs of Particular Nations) equivalent thereunto) puts a Note of highest difference between the Persons dignified therewith, and others. *Three* high and honourable *Functions* in the Scripture were conferred by this Ceremony of *Anointing*, and all of them fenced and priviledged from Injuries by vertue of that *Holy Oyle*; the *Priestly*, *Prophetical* and *Royal* Offices. Not to instance in the *two former*, (upon which (whatever these confused times have suggested to the contrary) it were easie to prove, that God hath written a *Nolite tangere*, a Priviledge from common handling) to be sure the *Last*, (the *Royal*) is so highly secured by the holy Scriptures, that they exact from *Subjects* such a special Awe and Reverence towards *Kings*, as not only binds the *Hand* and *Tongue*, *Anointed.*

but the very *Heart* also, to the *good behaviour*: Whence in the case of this very *Saul*, when he was once anointed *King*, the Holy Ghost puts the Brand of *Sons of Belial* upon all those who *despised* or spake contemptuously of him, 1 *Sam.* 10.27. And *Solomon* strictly forbids us to *curse*, or wish evil to the *King*, even *in our very thoughts*, *Eccles.* 10.20. So that this Consideration was very effectually conducing to the aggravation of the *Amalekites* in the *Text*, and (in him) of every *King-killers* offence: For the consequence is *a minori ad majus*, undeniable. If the *lesser* injury may not be done to *Kings*, the *greater* may not. If our *Tongues*, nay *Thoughts* are not to injure *them*, much less our *Hands*.

And the *Lords Annointed*.

II. To strengthen this consideration further, *David* cals him not only *Unctum*, [*Anointed*,] but *Unctum Domini*, [the *Lords Anointed*] Which Title peculiarly relates him to God as his Vicegerent and Lieutenant, and enhanceth the sin of *King-killing* to the guilt of *High Treason against God* himself. That the Title of *the Lords Anointed*, is attributed to *other Kings* besides *Saul*, as to all the *Jewish Kings*, yea and *Heathen Kings* also (instance *Cyrus*, Isa. 45.1) argues that the same security belongs to *all other Kings*, as being no less related to God, and commissioned under him: That *Supreme Authority resides originally in the Body of the People as the Fountain of all just power, and is delegated to Kings from them, as their servants intrusted by them, and for male-administration accountable to them*, is a Doctrine that savours so much of a spirit quite alien from the Scriptures, that I shall almost as soon turn *Mahometan*, as believe it. Surely in that the Holy Ghost cals them *Gods*, he cannot be thought to assign *them* an *humane Original*, without allowing the *Creature* a power (which he every where denies him) of *conferring a Divinity* upon the *work of his hands*. *Man*, whilst he attempts to make a *God*, doth no other, than the *Child*, that attempts with a *Bundle of Clouts*, to make a *Babe*. They *that say to the works of their hands, ye are gods*, Hos. 14. 3. are no other, than *blasphemous Idolaters*; and the gods they make, are *Elilim*, vain Idols, not *Elohim*, true Gods, *Jer.* 16.20. *Psal.* 96.5. Yea, it is a strong Scripture-consequence against the *Divinity* of such *Puppet-gods*; [*The workman made it, therefore it is not God*, Hos. 8.6.] Of like nature is the Presumption of those men who undertake to *make* and *unmake* Kings, at their own pleasure; and that so great, that (in reference to this very claim) the

Not the *Peoples*.

Ps. 82.6.

*Great*

*Great Antichrist* is justly charged with *lifting himself up above all that is called God*, 2 Thes. 2. 4. And to *set up Kings without God*, ( Kings of humane Constitution, contrary to Gods appointed Order of Succession ) when it was acted by the Ten Tribes, in the case of *Jeroboam*, and the succeeding *Kings of Israel*, is yoaked ( as a parallel piece of presumptuous Impiety ) in one and the same verse, with *making Idols of Silver and Gold*, Hos. 8. 4. Indeed a *God* and a *King* of *mans* making, are both alike, *Idols both*; and they that *make them, are like unto them*. It is *He* alone that *hath it to give*, who confers the least spark of Divinity, *Political*, as well as *Natural*: and he that saies to a *man* of his own setting up, *Thou art Gods Deputy*, first, robs the *True God* of that power, and then bestows it upon a *Counterfeit*. And although the Constitutions of some Nations, where *Popular Election* disposeth of the *Crown*, may seem to invalidate this Doctrine, I must tell you, that (besides that *ab initio non fuit ita*, the Original of all Governments was from *Paternal Jurisdiction*, and next that *hereditary Succession* (both appointed by God ) and all Forms varying from those, are too novel to prescribe against an ancienter Constitution ) even there where *Election* (according to Law and Custom ) designes the *Person*, *Gods Ordination* confers the *Power*, that he is invested withall; for *there is no power but from God*, Rom. 13. 1. In such Nations, the Kings may be *Electi Plebis*, the Peoples Elect; but when once regularly chosen, they become *Unti Domini*, the Lords Anointed. And with this distinction, (though it may possibly be, *orthodox enough* to interpret St. *Peters* ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσει, ( *Pet.* 2. 13. ) of a person according to the *Laws* and *Customs* of a Nation *elected*, or acknowledged for *King*, that thereby he becomes ( so far ) *an Ordinance* or *Creature of man*: yet ) when this *Creature of man* is so far *made*, as mans Votes or Laws or Consents can make him, he receiveth (over and above this ) by a Divine *Dixi*, a word of Authority, to make him the Object of conscientious Obedience, which the same Apostle intimates in the next words, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake*, *i. e.* as considering the relation he hath to *God*. The *Body of Authority* is made by *Laws* and *Customs* of Nations, but the *Soul* of it is infused by *God*. *Prometheus* may make the *Image of a man* of *Clay*, but it is *Fire from Heaven* that must *animate* it, or it is but an *Image* still: So till the *Word of God*

*Kings* (even where elected by the *People*) are nevertheless,

come:

*cons to men*, (as our Saviour phraseth it, *John* 10. 35.) and say *Ye are Gods*, they are but (as *Sampson* bereft of his Locks) *like other men*: But when once Gods *dixi*, is past, then, and then only, this *ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις* this *Ordinance of man*, becomes *διαταγὴ Θεοῦ*, *the Constitution* and *Ordination of God*, Rom. 13. 2.

Gods Anointed.

It is true indeed, that (for the ascertaining of mens Consciences in the *Object* of their *Civil worship*) Gods *dixi*, alwaies concurs with the *just and lawful Issue* of Humane *Constitutions* and *Customs*, so that God hath given us this *Infallible Note*, to discern who is *Unctus Domini*, his *Vicegerent* and *Deputy*, that he comes to govern according to the *Laws of the Kingdom*. But yet you may not ascribe the *Authority* he hath, to the *Laws* which assert his Right, but to *God*, whose Constitution enables those Laws to determine in so weighty a matter.

And therefore not subject to their *Jurisdiction* when once admitted.

And hence, it will not follow, that the *People consent* (which made those Laws, upon the determination of which the divine Constitution is necessarily attendant) renders the *Person invested with Authority according to those Laws*, at all, much less altogether, dependant upon the People for that *Authority*; and that therefore in case of *male-administration*, he may be *unmade* by them who *made* him, more than it will follow, that because (according to the standing Law of Nature) the *rational Soul* is necessarily annexed to the *Substance* of the *Body*, in the *instant of Generation*; therefore we owe our *Spirits* to our Parents, as well as our *Bodies*, or that (upon that Supposition) the *Natural Parent* may dismiss the *Soul* of his Child from the *Body* at his pleasure, which he is supposed to have by generation conferred upon it. But rather (as in *Nature* and *Reason* the Soul of man, however necessarily tied to the order of Nature in generation, is yet Θεοῦ γένος, *Gods Off-spring*, Acts 17. Not the *Parents*, and therefore may not be dislodged out of the Body without a Writ of Revocation, a *Redire Filii hominum*, from *the Father of Spirits*, for *no man hath power over the Spirit, but only God that gave it*, Eccles. 8. 8. 12. 7.

*Psal.* 90. 3.
*Heb.* 12. 9.

So in the true and genuine *reason* of *State-Government*, (which is to be fetched from the Scriptures, not mens Politicks) *Authority*, which is διαταγὴ Θεοῦ, the *Ordinance of God*, (whatever necessary Connexion, by divine appointment, it have to humane Laws and Customs) cannot justly be separated from *the Person*, whom those Laws and Customs have invested with it, without an *Act*

of

*of divine resumption.* He that saith to Princes, *Ye are Gods*, makes them (in a Political sense) what he saies they are, *Civil Deities*, and such they must continue, till by a like *dixi* or word of *Repeal*, he unmake them again. And the resolution which Conscience must expect, to determine herein also, must be fetched from the Laws Umpirage in all Nations.

But Sacred & secured by *Divine Ordination*

Now from this *Dixi* of God, this Divine Constitution it is, that the *Persons of Kings* have in all places and ages been accounted *Sacred*. This *Unction from the Holy One*, (give me leave so to call it in allusion to that of St. *John*, though by him used in another sense, 1 *John* 2.20.) secures them from the gripes of rude hands, with a *Nolite tangere*. For so (though that Text directly relates to Gods wonderful preservation of the three Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and that under the Notion of Gods *Prophets*, under which Relation God expressly cautions *Abimelech*, *Gen.* 20.7. And that Passage, it is more than probable, the Psalmist had in his eye, when he penned it) the Argument which God useth, *Psal.* 105.15. for the Priviledge he gave them, that they were *Uncti Domini*, will necessarily extend the security there claimed for them, to all who are partakers of a like Unction: [*Touch* not saith he, *mine Anointed*] by that known Logical Maxime, *A quorumvis ad de omni valet Argumentum*. A consideration, which so far prevailed with *Holy David*, that his *heart smote him*, in the Cave, for only *cutting off the Skirt of King* Sauls *Garment*, as if the *savour* of the *Divine Unction* by *descending* (as it is said of *Aarons*, Psal. 133.2.) *to the Skirts of his Garment*, had communicated its Tincture so far to the Royal Robe, as to mind him by the Sent it left upon his very fingers ends, that he had made too bold with the *Lords Anointed*, 1 Sam. 24.5. And therefore, no wonder, if he charge it so home upon this *Amalekite*, who had with a *murderous touch* assaulted that Body that wore it.

And that although *abusing* their *Power* against the Laws, and *turning Tyrants*, which is,

*Obj.* True, (will the *Anti-monarchist* say) whilst Princes keep to the *Rules* by which they are to *govern*; but if they *transgress* them, do they not thereby *forfeit their Priviledge*, and become as *other men*; yea, *far worse*, by being *Tyrants*: Is it not lawful to *kill a Tyrant*, that preys upon the Lives and estates of his Subjects, like a *wild Beast let loose*, and makes use of *Gods Authority* committed to him, to secure himself in such *intolerable Abuses*?

*Sol.* To which I answer,

1. Was

Proved by several Arguments.

1. Was not this very *Saul* as properly a *Tyrant* in this kind, as any recorded in Scripture or History? Was he impowered by the Law of God (by which he was to govern, *Deut.*17.14,15. *&c.* to the end) to *persecute* an innocent *David*, as he did? or to attempt the *murder* of his own Son *Jonathan*, as he did? 1 *Sam.*20. 33. Or, was he impowered to *destroy* a whole *City of Priests*, for the supposed offence of one *Ahimelech*, as he did? 1 *Sam.*22.18. Was he impowered by that Law to do many other irregular Acts, which *Samuel* reckons up by way of *Prophesie* concerning him, when he made him *King*? 1 *Sam.*8.11, 12. And yet was he still *Unctus Domini*, under the Protection of his *Divine Unction*, and not to be *touched* with a violent hand.

2. There is a *twofold Tyrant*, *Tyrannus Titulo*, & *Tyrannus exercitio*, a *Tyrant* for want of a *just Title* to govern, and a *Tyrant* by *unjust Acts* in his Government, though his *Title* to Government be never so *just*. He that is *Tyrannus Titulo*, and hath no Title to govern, an *Usurper*, hath no *nolite tangere*, no divine Protection from his Unction, no *touch not mine Anointed*, to secure him.

And (although it be not (in my judgment) a safe Principle, which permits every *private Person* to destroy such a *Tyrant*, (seeing hereby *private men* are made competent *Judges of Soveraign Rights*, and the most *Lawful Prince* cannot be safe, if that be allowed) yet) no question, the *Collective Body* of a Nation, headed by an *Usurper* against the general sense of those who have the ordinary power of interpreting and executing Laws, may (upon their call) rise up against, dispossesse, and bring him to condigne punishment to make way for the *Lawful Prince* unjustly excluded.

But where a *Prince lawfully intitled* to his Government, is yet *Tyrannus exercitio*, abuseth that Government, to unjust and illegal Barbarities, (though herein he offend as highly against God, as it is not easily imaginable, how any one can more, because he defaceth (*the most glorious Image of God*) *himself*; and reflects the partnership of his guilt upon God, whom he represents, as authorizing him to such enormities, which the power received from him (only) capacitateth him to act: yet) is he still, *because of the Anointing*, a priviledged person, not to be violated by *thy* hands, or *mine*, whatever evils we suffer under him, and what capacity

capacity soever we may be in, to revenge them. I will evidence this to you by a familiar Instance: *Adulterated Coyn*, that bears the *Princes Image*, without the warrant of his *own Mint*, to attest it, any man may refuse to receive in payment, and knock to pieces, or nayl to a Post, because it is adulterate. But *good* and *lawful Coyn* stamped by *just Authority*, how much soever it may be battered or defaced, whilst any Print remains of the *Royal Inscription* to declare it such, may challenge a free passage, and may not be refused, or wilfully abused. So (whatever becomes of *Tyrants by Title*, who bear Gods superscription only by adulteration, and are meer *By-blows* of Supremacy) those that are not so, (however *Tyrannous* actions may blemish and deface them, yet) because they are the Legitimate Issue of a Divine Commission, and so truly *Filii Excelsi*, the *Sons of the most High*, having the true stamp of his Image upon them, must be still owned as such, and respected according to their Authority.

3. But be it supposed, that (notwithstanding all that is said) such a *Forfeiture* may be made, as the Objectors pretend; I would fain know, who shall be *Judge*, when, and by what Acts this *Forfeit* is incurred: Shall the *Prince* himself? I doubt they will think that unreasonable, because in this case he is a *meer Party*, and so will undergo the suspicion of Partiality to himself, from a Principle of self-Love.

Who must then? The *Collective body of the Subjects*? And do not the Objectors see that the same reason excludes them? Will not the Principle of Self-Love, and Self-revenge be as apt to corrupt them, in taking cognisance of the Injuries they feel? But there is an higher exception against them yet; and that is the offending *Israelites* Question to *Moses*, *Who made thee a Judge*? Exod.2.14. *By what Law either Divine or humane*, (was the Question of our Late martyred Soveraign) *can the Subject be impowered to sit in Judgment upon his King*? And indeed, as there is no such Law, so is it most unreasonable there *should be*: For, grant the *Subjects* such a power, and considering the prevalency of *prejudices* against Governours, and the frequency of successeful attempts of ill-meaning persons, to spread those prejudices, together with the incapacity of the People to know and judge of the true reason of State-Actions, *&c.*) and tell me, whether it would ever (in likelihood be the felicity of any King (how just soever) without a

miracle, to escape being deposed or murthered, at one time or other by his subjects. The Complices and Partners in guilt of *every malefactor* whom he hath *put to death*, though never so justly, would before a Popular Judicatory arraign him for *Murther*; the persons concerned in *confiscated Estates*, would Indite him for *theft* and *robbery*: the *Fanatick* punished by his Laws, for never so horrid *Blasphemies*, and pretended consciencious *Conspiracies*, &c. would prosecute him for a *Persecutor*: insomuch that the only way for a King to be secure in such a Kingdom, were to *let all justice go at sixes and sevens*, and then he would be obnoxious to the displeasure of none but (those, who though by this dissolution of Government they would be the deepest Sufferers, yet by their conscientious Principles are remotest from all likelihood of revenging *themselves* upon their Sovereign) *the truly Godly*. Nay (I will speak a *big word* for *once*) it would be hard for the most righteous *Governour of the whole world*, to carry himself so inoffensively towards his *Subjects*, but that the *major part* of them, were his actions to be scanned by their Judgement, would think it fit to Vote the reins out of his hand for male-administration.

And if neither *Prince* nor *subjects in general* be fit to determine in this Controversie, who shall then? Will they say, the *Representatives of the People*? If so, in *what capacity* shall they undertake it? Not of *Inferiors* surely, or *Equals*; for *par in parem* (much less *inferior in superiorem*) *non habet imperium*. Of *Superiors*? From *whence* shall they derive that *power*? If from *Law*, shew that Law? If from *popular election*, then their *power* can be no other then before was in the *body collective* by whom they are chosen; so that except the people be superiour to their Sovereigns (which hath before been disproved,) they cannot delegate that superiority to others, which they never had themselves.

And now there remains only *one shift* imaginable for the judging this case: and that is recourse to a *Forreign power*, which indeed is so farre from amending the matter, that it makes it farre worse. For (besides that *Sovereign Princes are equals in Authority*, (though not in *Dominions* it may be) and so the former maxim recurres, *Par in parem non habet imperium*, and that none is likely (because of the *precedent*) to be courted to such an Imployment, (except the *Pope*, who challengeth a Supremacy over Princes as Christs universal Vicar, and whose claims in this kind have been over and

over

over refuted:) how shall a *Forreign Prince* be enabled to *excercise this Jurisdiction*, but by the *success* of a *Warre*? And for subjects to call in a *Forreign force* to arbitrate the differences between *them* and their *Sovereign*, what can it amount unto but the highest of *traiterous Conspiracies*?

4. (and lastly) Suppose the *case* were *unquestionable*, and the *forfeiture made* and justly so *judged*, yet, to whom doth the *seizure* upon this forfeited Authority belong? Not to *man* (certainly) for it hath been before proved that all *Authority* is *Gods Ordinance*, a *Flower* of his *Prerogative*, a *Jewel* of his *Crown*, and so can fall (upon forfeiture) only into his hands who derived it. So that it will clearly follow, that if God himself (for the chastisement of a sinfull people, or for other holy ends of his own) shall think fit, *for a while*, not to *enter upon the forfeiture*, it will be high presumption in any men to *precipitate the judgement of God*, and enter *before his time* (though in his *Name* and *right*) upon his peculiar. Hence the *Saints of God* in former and latter times, have suffered under the *bloodiest Tyrants* with admirable patience, as under *Gods scourges*, and referred their cases to *him who judgeth uprightly*: and even in their *complaints* to him, have expressed so much *Christian temper* and *moderation*, that they have rather praied for the *conversion* and *pardon* of their persecutors, than wished *vengeance* upon them. And when they have foreseen the vengeance coming, have not *desired the wofull day*, Jer. 17.16. but deprecated it rather: However (to be sure) they never *put forth their hands to the iniquity of self-reparation*, but patiently *expected the coming of the Lord*, Ja.5.6,7. And upon this ground *David* checks the forwardnesse of *Abishai*, (who offered him the service of *smiting Saul dead*) *Destroy him not, for either the Lord shall smite him* (with a disease) *or his day* (in the course of nature) *shall come to die, or he shall descend into the battel and perish: but the Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my hand against the Lords Anointed*, 1 Sam.26.8,9,10. And yet (which makes this *Answer* more considerable) the *Crown of Saul* was not only *actually forfeited*, but *adjudged so by God himself*, and the *reversion* of it bestowed upon *David*, 1 Sam.15.28. Notwithstanding all which, you see, the holy man will not be perswaded to make a *forcible entry*, but waits till God by his *providence* devolves that upon him which he had demised by *promise*.

*Obj.* It will be farther *objected*, that this priviledge belonged in- *Obj.*

This priviledg belongs not to Jewish Kings only, but all other Kings.

deed to *Jewish Kings*, but it may be doubted, whether the *Gospel* (introducing a *state of Liberty*, beyond that which the *Jewes* enjoyed,) the same immunity belong to *Princes* since the *coming of Christ*?

*Sol.*

*Sol.* To which I answer again,

1. That *Gospel liberty* dissolves not Natural or Civil duties: and those that think it does, make it a *cloak of maliciousnesse*, 1 *Pet.*2.13,16.

2. That the immunity of *Jewish Kings* belonged not to them as such, but as *Gods Anointed*, as *deputed Gods* under the *most high*. And the *Gospel* owns the *Supream power*, even in the hands of *persecuting Heathens* as an *Ordinance of God*, Rom.13.2.

3. And it is evident that the *ancient Christians* thought so, who after they had adventured their lives in the field *for persecuting Emperours*, *as Souldiers*, laid them down *for their Religion*, in obedience to their commands (though unjust and barbarous) *as Martyrs*.

3.

And thus have I dispatched the *second consideration*, (that of the *person* slain) made use of in the *Text* for the *second Aggravation* of the *sin of King-killing*: that *Saul slain* was not only *Unctus*, an anointed King, by his civil *Quality*, but *Unctus Domini*, one who was *Gods Vicegerent*, by sacred *Relation*. And (by consequence) am now at liberty to insist a while on the *third Aggravation* taken from the *fact it self*, as the *Text* states it. And that is represented notoriously foul by *three things*.

From the *Nature* of the *Fact*, as *Bloody*.

1. That it was *in its nature* bloody. He *destroyed the Lords anointed*. It was not a murther *intended* only, nor a murther *barely attempted* without successe, but an *actual murther*. And yet, had he *not effected* it, the very *attempt* (considering the *quality* of the *Person*) had been so hainous a crime, that the Laws of Nature and Nations would have punished it with death. But here the guilt is infinitely aggravated by the *execution* of that which had been so highly criminal but to *attempt*. For a *King*, (however *attempted* against) whiles he is but *in being*, fils the Royal Seat, and Heads the Commonwealth, and animates all Courts of Justice by the Authority of his Name: yea, laies some restraint upon the most lawlesse and dissolute persons, on the account of a possibility of being called to account for their outrages and enormities. But the *actual taking away of a Kings life*, exposeth the empty Throne to the next

next potent Usurper, silenceth the Laws, annulleth all deputed Powers, by the expiration of their Commissions, renders every man (in a sort) his own Master, and sets up (for the Time) as many Lords of misrule in a Nation, as there are evil-disposed persons in it. And although these evils are not equally felt in *hereditary Kingdoms*, as in *others*, (because in such *the King never dies*) yet, they are all equally chargeable upon all Regicides; seeing, that they do not all actually ensue, is no thank to *them*, but to the *publique constitution* rather; and the Fact in its own nature being every where of like pernicious tendency, and such as (even in the best constituted Governments) may give advantage of opportunity to the designs of those who shall desire to improve the alteration of affairs, to the subversion of the Fundamentals of Government, by which succession is secured; as we of these Nations have lately found by too sad experience. In which respect, the *fact* of *this Amalekite* was the more hainous, as being an *actual destroying* of the *Lords anointed*.

2. That it was a *voluntary*, or rather *wilfull Act*. For he *stretched forth his hand*, and that with a purpose *to destroy* the King. Had the *King* accidentally *rushed* upon his *drawn weapon*, or had his *armed hand*, by impression from some *external force*, been made the instrumental cause of taking away the life of the *Lords anointed*, or any other like accident had rendred him the *destroyer of the King*, though *besides his intention*; it had been an *infelicity* to have been bewailed all the daies of his life: But to *reach forth* his armed hand to lend him a *voluntary wound*, with a *purpose* to take away his life, was a *crime*, not to be expiated with his life it self. Every *sin* receives its *degrees of sinfulnesse* from the *degrees of voluntarinesse* appearing in it. And the more hainous the sin is, the more aggravation doth it admit from the *concurrence of the will* in any sort, because the greater an *evil* is in it self, the more *perversion of the will* (whose only proper object is *good*) must there needs be, to render it capable of *choosing* it. *wilfull.*

3. (and lastly) That it was committed ἀφόβως, he *was not afraid* to do it. A *modest*, *timorous* sinner hath so much (at least) of the *appearance of vertue*, as abates something of the *odiousnesse of the sin* he commits. But a very strange *monster of wickednesse* must he needs be, who hath arrived at the unhappy pinacle of *sinning dedolently*. To baffle shame, and muzzle fear, and stifle conscience in *Audacious.*

sinning,

sinning, implies a kind of *absolute Soveraigny* and *Dominion in wickednesse*, and renders the person so qualified, a kind of *omnipotent sinner*, and (by consequence) the most *remote* from all *possibility of repentance*. And such a *Wretch* doth *David* imply that man to be, whom neither *Religion* towards *God*, nor *reverence* to *Majesty* will restrain from so horrid a crime, as this of *destroying the Lords anointed*, let whatever can be pleaded on his behalf: Which brings me to the *second* particular *evidence* which *David* gives to the *Quid* or matter of his *Answer*, (the *first General part* of my Text) which hath waited a long while for its dispatch,

2. The *second* particular *evidence* in reference to the *matter* of *Davids* reply (or the doctrine of the *hainousnes* of *King-killing*) The *invalidity* of all *Pleas* made for it.

And that is, [*the invalidity* of all that *had been*, or *might be pleaded* on this *malefactors* behalf,] implied in the *connexion* of this *sowre* and *severe expression*, with the *Amalekites garb* and *Narrative*, before improved for his *vindication*. Notwithstanding all which *David* pronounceth him guilty of the horrid sin of *murthering the Lords anointed*, and sentenceth him accordingly. To clear the *Justice* of which *Censure* and *Sentence*, (seeing it will much conduce to the main Hypothesis [*the setting forth the horrid wickednesse of King-killing*] and be of much use to us in our *application*) we will consider every one of his *real* or *possible Plea's* apart, and *answer* them in their order. His *own plea's* are seven (before mentioned) to which we will adde *one* made by Interpreters of this Scripture; and that shall be the *first*.

The *Amalekites* pleas answered

*Plea* 1. answered, (which is the *plea of Interpreters* for him.)

First, (though the *Amalekite* pleads it not, yet) there may be a *Question* made, Whether the Holy Ghost in the relation of *Sauls* death, 1 *Sam.*31.4,5. do not acquit him of having any hand in the Fact, though he (in hope of reward) might take it upon himself? For the story tels us, that when *Saul* had desired his *Armour-bearer* to do him the kindnesse to dispatch him, and he had refused, *Saul took a sword and fell upon it*: and that he died of that wound by his own hand, seems probable by what is immediatly subjoined, that *Sauls Armour-bearer seeing that he was dead, fell likewise upon his own sword and died*. From hence (with much likelihood) some *Interpreters* confidently *acquit* the *Amalekite* from the *Fact*. Nor shall I much contend with them about it, seeing I shall (upon other accounts) clear *Davids* justice upon him anon. Though I might tell them that there is no cogent reason to demonstrate a contradiction between the *relation of the History*, and the *Amalekites Narrative*. For what if *Saul fell upon his own sword*, and the *Amalekite*

sayes

sayes he found him *leaning upon his Spear?* Both may be true; he might (first) *fall on his own Sword*, and (that not dispatching him) might scramble up again, and make a *Second Attempt* with his *Spear*, but could not make way through his *Coat of Mayle*, as the Margin to *v. 9.* renders his words to the *Amalekite*. And what if it be subjoyned, after his *falling on his Sword*, that his *Armour-bearer saw that he was dead?* Doth it therefore follow, that he *died immediately* of that Wound? The *Armour-bearer* might *conclude him dead*, seeing him so *wounded* and *faint*; when yet he might struggle longer with death, then he imagined, and *out-live* him that thought him dead, even till the *Amalekite* came, and finding him in that sad posture, killed him outright.

But (however) be it that the *Amalekite did the Fact indeed*, or only *boasted* (in hope of reward) *that he had done it*; yet received he no wrong from *David*. For,

1. *Voluntary Confession* (especially, where no Force is used to extort it, upon publick arraignment, in the presence of a Judge) is *Conviction sufficient*, to justifie the condemnation of the person confessing.

2. Abundance of *Circumstances* there were to confirm *David* in the belief of it: As,

1. That he was an *Amalekite*, and so one that upon a *National quarrel*, might be supposed to owe *Saul* a Mischief, who had put the whole Nation of which he was, excepting only himself, and some few more (it is probable) carried away contrary to Gods Command alive for Slaves, 1 *Sam.* 15. And it may be (upon this account, in his Examination) *David* asked him again, *whence he was?* V. 13. (though in his Relation of the Discourse between *Saul* and himself, he had let fall no less before) that he might judicially confess that Circumstance, so necessary to his Conviction, upon Deliberation.

2. The *Crown* and *Bracelet*, which were known to be *Sauls*, gave evidence, that in all probability, he had the Rifling of *dead Saul*; and probably, might *kill* him, that he might *plunder* him.

3. That whether he *committed the Fact*, or no, yet was he guilty of it, *in intention* (at least) otherwise he would not have made so formal a story to gain from *David* the reputation of having done it, and related it with a kind of *glorying* in it, as an act of *merit* towards *David*. Insomuch

Insomuch, that if he were not really *guilty of the Fact*, *David* was upon these evidences, *guiltless of his Blood*, and as he tels him, *V.* 16. that *his Blood lay upon his own head.*

And thus hath the *first Plea* made by Interpreters on his behalf, no other strength than this, *to give farther evidence to the horrid guilt of King-killing*, even though it be granted. For if that person justly died for it, who had (as the Plea supposeth) *no other guilt* of the Royal Blood upon him, than that he *esteemed* the shedding of it a *meritorious Service*, and shewed his *willingness to have done it*, by *boasting that he had done it*: What a dreadful Crime must it be, to be guilty of the Fact *indeed?* the very *Intimation* of a *good will* whereunto, rendered this *Amalekite* so criminal.

His own seven Pleas answered.

*Et passa est Pœnas peccandi sola voluntas?*

Plea 2. Answered.

But it may be further said (as was before urged) that *Saul* was a *Tyrant*, a *Persecutor of David*, and his *deadly Enemy*. And it is hard measure that he should die by *Davids Command*, who had by this very Fact saved *Davids Life*.

To this, the Answer (from *Davids* Principles) is easie: He was indeed *Davids Enemy*, but he was *Davids Soveraign*, and the *Lords Anointed*. Besides, Had *David* been so desirous to be rid of his Enemy in such a way, he needed not to have left that *work* to be done by an *Amalekite*, seeing he had refused such a *Service*, when offered by *better Friends*. Lastly, If he were *Davids Enemy*, he ought the rather to do him *Justice* upon his *Murderer*, that he might declare himself in the execution of Law the more *impartial*; and learn others, that the *private Injuries received* from our *just* and *lawful Soveraigns*, ought to make no *Impressions* upon our *Allegiance to the Lords Anointed*.

Plea 3. Answered.

But *Saul himself desired him* to put an end to his miserable life, (the *Amalekites* Second Plea)

Grant this too. But was he *Saul*, that is, *himself*, when he desired it; Fear, and Guilt, and Anguish, and Loss of Blood and Spirits, and (it may be, over and above) an *evil Spirit from the Lord* (with which he was wont to be *haunted*) may be supposed at this time, to *intercept the exercise of his Reason*. And is it the part of a *Sober man* to kill another at his *Request*, when he is out of *his wits*, and understands not what he saies? Will no Law allow a *mad-*

*man*

*man* to dispose of his *Goods* and *Lands*, and will it warrant him to dispose of his *Life?* Besides, Who is there that thinks himself obliged to gratifie the desires, or obey the Commands of a *private Person in distemper*, by easing him of his Life, whenever he thinks it a burden? How much less, when the case concerns a *publick Magistrate*, whose Life and Death are of publick concernment, and the Lives of whole Nations are bound up in his? So that the *best obedience*, in such a case as this, had been, by Principles of Religion and Reason to have endeavoured the *reducing of his Sovereign to a sober temper*, and till that could have been effected, to have *taken* from him all *Instruments of death*, *bound* up his *wound*, and *saved his Life* (as far as in him lay) though against his Will.

And be it (which is his third Plea) *that the case seemed never so desperate; and the wound* he had given himself, *never so mortal* in appearance, yet so long as Life remained, all hopes were not vanished. How many persons have recovered, whom the best Physitians and Chyrurgions have given over for *desperate?* He should have *endeavoured* his best, and then if *Success* had not answered the endeavour, the *endeavour* (which was his duty) would have cleared his *Loyalty*, both before God and man. Besides, Nature and Reason incline every man to a desire of enjoying his Friends, *as long as possibly he can*, though all *Prognosticks* assure him, that enjoyment cannot be *long*. We do not think a *Cordial* cast away upon a *near Relation*, the utmost effect whereof, we are assured, cannot be more, then to *respite death for a few minutes*. To be sure, *all Nations* that are never so little reclaimed from Barbarism, would with one mouth *condemn him*, who when a dear friend lies *strugling with the pangs of death* it self, should *knock him on the head*, to put him out of his *Pain*. And therefore, what in a like case, had been *unlawful* for the *Amalekite* to have done to a *private Relation*, was *notoriously criminal* towards the *Lords Anointed*. *Plea 4. Answered.*

If it were (as he farther alleadged) really true, that *the Philistines were in never so hot a Pursuit of the flying King*, yet had this *Amalekite* no warrant to *kill him for prevention:* For, might not *Providence* have led them *another way*, and suffered none of them to light upon that place where he lay? The *Divine Protections* of Soveraign Princes are many times of kin to Miracle. *Great deliverances giveth he to his Kings, and sheweth mercy to his Anointed,* *Plea 5. Answered.*

Psal. 18.50. Again, admit, he were never so much in danger of falling into the hands of his pursuing enemies, yet who knowes, but he might have lighted into the hand of some *Noble Personage*, that (in honour) would have spared the *Royal Blood*, and thought it more generous, to take a King *Captive*, then (in cold Blood) to have *murdered him*, when he was not capable of resistance? Or if it had been the Lot of a *Mercenary Souldier* to have lighted upon him, might he not have endeavoured the *Preservation* of such a *Noble Prisoner* in hope of a *Ransom*? Nay, had this *Amalekite* been sure, that all the *Philistines* were so barbarous, that *never an one* of them, would have saved the *Kings* Life, out of *hatred to his Religion*, as well as *Person*; yet (had he consulted either the *honour* of his *Soveraign dying*, or the *safety* of his *Soul* after death) it had been far better for him to have left him to *their* Swords, then to perform his Request with his *own*. For had an *Uncircumcised Philistine* for his *Religions* sake, slain him, his death had been his *Infelicity*, but not his *guilt*: Nay, those hands that slew him upon that account, had *advanced* him to the *honour of Martyrdom*; whereas, to die *precariously*, by the hands of a *Subject*, whom his own *pusillanimous intreaty* had prevailed with, to take away his life, rendred him a *cowardly self-murderer* (by *Proxie*) and lost him not his *Life* only, but his *Honour*, and ('tis to be feared) his *Soul* together. Besides, If *this Principle* be but admitted, [ *That it is not criminal to take away a Kings Life, provided it be done to prevent the killing of him by other hands*,] How can any Princes life be secure? For may not *any one* of *many Conspirators*, justifie himself, (by this excuse) for killing the King, that he did it, *to prevent his Fellows*? And would it not be the greatest and subtillest piece of *ambition* that could be, in such a case, to be the *first* of a traiterous Crew, that should strike the mortal Blow, seeing he of all the Company, would be *secured of Indemnity*, upon this Principle, who could obtain the *precedency* in the horrid Fact? Nay, how easie would it be, for *any person*, (especially, if his own *Suspitions* may be admitted for *evidence*) to conceit a *Plot* against the *Kings* Life to be contrived by *others*, and then account himself at liberty to *kill him for prevention*? However, Suppose there could be a case in which so dangerous a Principle might be admitted, yet (surely) it must be the *last Refuge*, when a sufficient Trial hath been made of *all Means* to prevent that danger, which threatens

threatens a *Princes* Life, and all prove ineffectual. Had this *Amalekite* done his best to have saved him from the *Philistines*; had he put his *shoulder* under his falln *Soveraign*, to lift him out of the *common Road*, into some *by-place*, had he taken some course to *disguise* him, that the *Pursuers*, had they lighted on him, might not have *known* him to be the *King*; or any other way tried his utmost to secure him, he might with more appearance of Innocence, have done him this kindness at the very last, to have slain him himself. Was Mount *Gilboa*, or the Coast near it, so barren of *Bushes*, or *Pits*, or *Thickets*, or *Hollow Trees*, or *Cottages*, that might have given a distressed King shelter, till the Pursuit was over; that no *shift* could be made, to shew a *Subjects Loyalty*, whatever the *Success* had been? *Well fare the hearts of such Subjects*, who in like exigences, would have *tried* 1000 *homely Artifices*, to have secured their *Liege Soveraign*, rather than have taken this course of preventing the *cruelty of pursuing Enemies*, *by murdering him more charitably with their own Hands*: And if none of them should have proved successeful, would *have stood by him*, to the utmost of extremities, and then have *opposed* their *own Breasts* against the *drawn Swords* of bloody Pursuers, though they had been sure to *die with him*; as considering, that the Life of the *Lords Anointed*, was *worth* 10000 *of theirs*, and that (next him that dies for *Gods-sake*, there is none who comes so near the honour of *Martyrdom*, as he that dies for *Gods Vice-gerents sake*, his Lawful *Soveraign*.

Lastly, Had the *Philistines* killed him, they were in a *double* capacity more *excusable* than this *Amalekite*: For they were *Conquerors* in a Battel newly gained, and in the heat of pursuit; (and in *National* Wars, the *Conquered* forfeits his life to the *Conqueror's* mercy) Nay, they were *Subjects of another Countrey*, and so *Saul* was to them but an *Ordinary Person*: But this *Murderer* was not only of the same *conquered party* with *Saul*, and so had no claim to a power of his life by the *Success of the Day*, but one of his own *Subjects* and *Souldiers*, raised for the defence of his Person, and so was obliged by all means (even with the loss of his own) to *preserve* (not *take away*,) the Life of his *Soveraign* and *General*, and the *Lords Anointed*.

It is probable enough (his *Fifth* Plea) that *he came by the meer conduct of Providence*, to the place of this sad Tragedy, and in his *own Flight* stumbled upon *Saul* unawares, and that the *haste* he was *Plea 6. answered.*

in to save his *own Life*, somwhat disordered his *Reason*, that he had not a *like* freedom of deliberating what was best to be done, *as at other times*. But yet he was an *Amalekite*, and there might be something of Enmity against *Saul*, —*Alta mente repostum*, upon the account of a *National Feud*, and in such a disposition (as malice useth to be *quickly up* and *ready*, when Providence offers an opportunity of retaliation) this time (how little soever it was) might be *long enough* to excite a desire of *Revenge*, together with a *Plot* to make it seem innocent, by pleading the *suddenness of the Accident* in its excuse. Besides, it may seem (by his own relation) that he was not in so much *hurry of thoughts* by the suddenness of the Providence, but that he had *Reason* enough left, to *give a direct Answer to* Saul's *Question*, V.7,8. and to *argue himself* into the Commission of that bloudy Fact from the *Considerations* which he *pleads*, as moving him unto it; and that he was not in so much *haste*, but that he had time enough (by his own confession) to hold a formal Discourse with *Saul*, (too long (one would think) for a *dying* and a *flying* Person to dialogue together) and surely, he needed not much *longer time*, than he confessed he had, (especially, seeing he had *leisure* enough to inform himself, that the Person he discoursed with, was his *Soveraign*) to reflect upon his own heart this *Question*, [*What warrant have I to destroy the Lords Anointed?*] So that whatever his *haste* was to save his *own life*, he *made more haste than good speed* to take away *Sauls*.

*Plea* 7. Answered.

And though he would seem *free from any covetous design*, tempting him to such a Fact, that he might enrich himself with the *Royal Spoyles*; yet, who knows, but that it was *first in his Intention*, and the ground of his Action, though upon *second thoughts*, (considering how difficult it would be for him, a *private Souldier*, to make mony of things so commonly known, without being questioned, *where he had them?* and that to bring them to the *next Successour*, might yield him more *profit*, than he could have *sold them for*) he afterwards thought it fitter to present them to *David*? However, (be it that he *had no intention to dispose of them any other way*, when he committed the Fact yet) was he not hereby much furthered in his excuse. For could he think, that an *Intention* honestly to dispose *of* the *Royal Ornaments*, would make a compensation for the *murder of him that wore them*? Surely, if so, he was *much out*, in bringing them to *David*, who had now reason to value a *Kings*

*Life*

*Life* higher than so, by the price he could not but set on his *own*. Nay more, he could not indeed have given more *loud evidence* against himself, than by bringing of those *Regalia*, he had done. For hereby he had cut himself off from a capacity of pleading *ignorance* of the *Person* whom he slew; which (if any) would have most steaded him; for he could not but know, that the *Crown* he brought, was a *Badge of Soveraignty*, and therefore in killing him, on whose Head he confessed it was, he confessed that he knowingly killed the *Lords Anointed*.

Lastly, All the *Expressions of sorrow for the Fact*, with which he ushered in *his Relation*, might be but *feigned* and *formal*: Or if not so, yet what proportion was there between a *base Varlets Tears*, and *Royal Blood*? It was well that he mourned for the *Infelicity* of his Fact; but it would have been better, if he had repented of the *wickedness* of it. And if (seeing how it was like to go with him) he might *plead that also*; he must know, that *repentance*, though it may avail a *murderer* towards the obtaining of his *pardon from God*, yet it is not a Plea sufficient to indemnifie in a *Court of humane Justice*. *Murderers*, especially, such *Atrocious Murderers*, justly die, by Gods Law and mans, though truly *penitent*. The *Tears of Repentance* may do much towards the reparation of a mans *own Innocence*, but can do nothing towards a reparation for *anothers Life*. *Plea* 8. Answered.

In a word, if indeed he *repented* of the fact, he could not but be willing to *prevent* (as far as in him lay) the spreading of the *leaven of his example* to infect others with a like guilt: and the effectuallest course to *prevent* such crimes for the *future*, is the exemplary punishment of those who have *taught* the world to *commit* them.

And thus have we dispatched the *first part* of the Text (with its reference to the *hypothesis* of the *Chapter*, and the *Doctrine* couched in it, *The heinousnesse of the sin of murthering Kings.*) Come we now to the *two* remaining, which (in the *person* expressing his sense of it, and the *manner how* he expresseth it) contain the substance of those *practical Inferences* which it affords for *Application*. And we will begin with the *second* part.

Secondly, *Quis*, or [the person expressing his *deep sense* of this horrid Fact,] *David*, who may herein be exemplary to after-Ages, in the *twofold Consideration*, wherein the distribution of my *Text* represented him. Part 2: *Quis*, or the *Person* thus replying, *David*.

II. Consider

Considered, according to *what he was.* In his *personal Capacity,*

I. Consider him according to *what he was,* in a *twofold* Capacity.

1. As a *man,* (in his *personal capacity*) and so I told you before he was a *truly pious person,* an *eminent Saint,* and for nothing more *eminent,* then for *tendernesse of Conscience.*

An *eminent Saint,*

That he was a *person truly pious* and *eminent for Sainteship,* is demonstratively evident in the *high characters* the Holy Ghost every where bestows upon him. *Gods servant David,* is a Title wherein (by the mutual, and that frequent enterchanging of it in Scripture) both *God* and *he* seem to *delight.* And such a *servant* God thought him, that he seems to *boast* of his *findings,* when he had *met* with him, as if the *like* were not to be *found again,* [*I have found David my servant,* Psal.89.20.] So *good* a *servant* he was, that (as another high expression carries it) God himself could hardly *wish* or *desire* a *better,* (allowing the imperfections incident to humane frailty) for he was [*a man after his own heart,* and one that would stick at none of his Commands, but *do* [illegible] *all his wills.*] A man *so good,* that God *takes measure* of the goodness or badness of all his Successors, by the *proportion* or *disproportion* they bare to *him:* as being so far accounted *good,* as they *walked in the way* and *steps of their Father David;* and so far *bad,* as they *departed from them;* of which frequent Instances might be given, would time permit. Yea, *so good,* that the best of men that ever was (the Lord *Jesus Christ*): is by the Holy Ghost, called by the Name of *David* as his most suitable *Type,* Jer.30.9. Hosea 3.5. Nor do the *Characters* given him in that kind, speak more then his *own practise* justified. Every morning, his *waking thoughts conversed with God,* Psal.139.8. Yea, he was one, who (over and above the seventh day reserved by God for his publique service, which he as constantly attended, as the *door-keepers of Gods house* themselves, *Psal.*84.10.) consecrated *seven* petty Sabbaths *a day* to devotion, *Psal.*119.164. and broke his sleep *at midnight* to spend time in religious duties, *Psal.*119.62. and one of so *raised a spirit* in his pious meditations and devotions, that *his remains* have been ever since made use of, as *Forms of publick Devotion* in the Church, in which Notion he is called the *sweet Psalmist of Israel,* 2 Sam.23.1.

and notably *tender-Conscienced.*

And for the *tendernesse of his conscience,* there needs no other evidence, then (that one instance already touched at) the disturbance he felt in himself for *cutting off* but one *thred of* Sauls *garment,*

*ment*, though done for a *testimony* of his own *innocency*, 1 Sam. 24. 9.

This is *the person*, whom the relation of this *Amalekite*, concerning his murthering of *Saul*, doth so transport into an holy passion, that he cries out, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*

And herein he sets a fair copy for all persons who *pretend to Sainship*, and *plead Tendernesse of Conscience*, to write after: and gives us of *this Age* a liberal occasion to wonder at that *new-fashion'd*, or rather *new-fangled* garb of *Sanctity*, which some have assumed to *cloak* the actual guilt of farre more horrid Villanies, than this (the very *relation* whereof so startled *David*) in my *Text*; and at that *paradoxical* notion of *tendernesse of conscience*, which admits *Murthers* and *Treasons* of the most horrid aggravation imaginable, into the reputation of most *heroical vertues*, and *elevated acts of Religion*. For surely, if *David* were such an *eminent Saint*, these persons who so directly *walk Antipodes* to his principles and practise, can pass with all sober Christians for no other then *incarnate devils*: and if *Davids Conscience* were so *truly and remarkably tender*, the Consciences of *these men* must needs be *harder than Adamants*, and *seared* into an *incurable dedolency*, whose principles and tempers carry so irreconcileable a *contradiction* to his, and that in a matter of so high a concernment as *blood*, and that not of ordinary persons, but of the *Lords Anointed*.

2. Consider him *as a King* (in his *politick* and *publick capacity*,) which by *Saul's* death he was now vested withall. The *Intelligence* which *this Miscreant* brought him (it is probable) gave him the first glimpse, the first intimation of the actual devolution of the *Crown* upon him: and now, as a *publick Magistrate*, he gives the *Relator* himself the *first handsell* of his new *Royalty*, a severe *increpation* in the Text, and a deserved *execution* in those that follow. And a like piece of Justice doth he (a while afterwards) execute upon the murtherers of *Ishbosheth* the son of *Saul*, who had for two years been set up by a Faction, as Competitor with him in the Kingdom, *chap.* 4. *Examples*, followed by *Amaziah King of Judah*, upon the murtherers of his *father Joash*, 2 King. 14. 5. and very ordinarily to be parallell'd in *all Histories*, wherein there is no piece of Justice more commonly taken notice of, then the severe inquisition and recompense made by *succeeding Princes*, for the blood of their

In his *politick Capacity* (by the death of *Saul*) *King*.

(Upon occasion whereof,

their *Predecessors*. And indeed, both the *Law of God* (which admits no compensation for *humane blood*, but the *blood of him that sheds it*, and that upon good reason too, because in the murther of man the *Image of God* is defaced, *Gen.9.6.*) allows and requires this severity, in such cases: and the *Law of man* conformably allots an *exemplary addition of penal circumstances, to that severity* in the case of *King-killing*, upon weighty reason, seeing in that *prodigious crime* there is a defacing of a *double Image of God*, both Natural and Political. So that if it were possible to inflict a *double death* upon such malefactours, their *double*, yea, *manifold* guilt (for he that murthers a *Supreame Magistrate*, virtually and in effect, murthers a *Community*) would abundantly justifie the rigour of such an execution.

*Juven. Sat.* 8.

*Horum supplicio non debuit una parari*
*Simia, non serpens unus, non culeus unus.*

*One death* (indeed) is too little for such *Paricides*, as kill the *Father of an whole Kingdom*. Severity in such a case, is such a piece of *righteousnesse*, as *establisheth the Throne* (Prov.16.12.) by scaring those of succeeding Ages from *doing so presumptuously*.

The *severe circumstances* of the execution of Traitors, justified.)

Upon consideration whereof, as *those Princes* are abundantly justified, who in this piece of justice follow *Davids example*; so are *those persons* as much to be blamed, whose either *good nature*, and *softness of disposition*, or *evil Principles*, and *partnership of guilt*, prejudiceth them against the *severe executions of Regicides*, which humane Laws *every where appoint*, and humane Authority (*in terrorem*) for others terrour, *sometimes practiseth*. For it is but meet, that *exemplary severity* should teach men the *difference* between the value to be put upon the persons of *Princes*, and *Subjects*: Otherwise *Assasinations* would be as frequently acted upon *Soveraigns*, as *Murders* upon *Private men*; yea, hardly would any *King* that hath an *enemy* daring enough to adventure a *bare life*, be translated into Heaven *siccâ morte*, with an unbloudy death. Whereas (on the other side) experience tels us, that those who can contemn a *single death*, yet dread it cloathed with such *Circumstances*, as carry a *Brand of eternal ignominy* with them, by a *Blot* upon the *Memory*, and a *Tincture* upon the *Blood* to all posterity.

II. Consider

II. Consider *David* according to the *Presumptions on which the Murderer grounded his Confidence*, and we shall find an ample Ground, for the farther improvement of his Example herein. For, if a *David* persecuted by a *Tyrannous King*, and that without any colour of Justice, for so many years, be thus affected with the Murder of his *Implacable Persecutor*, if a *David*, who had fled *to Arms for shelter*, against his *Soveraigns unjust violence*, neither dared himself to use those Arms to the prejudice of *his Person*, when he had him within his power, nor would dismiss his *actual Murderer* without *exemplary vengeance*; and lastly, if the *undoubted right of Succession in his Throne*, and the *long expected news of an avoydance thereof*, could not soften the radicated Principles of Loyalty in *David*, so far, as to induce him to admit of a secret titillation of complacency in that *Fact*, when done to his hand, which *made his way plain* to the possession of a *just Royalty*, or sweeten him one jot towards the Person who had been the *Instrument of making room* for him: doth it not demonstratively follow, that all *other Persons*, (especially such as are not under the like probable *Effects of Temtation* in this kind) should be as sowrly irreconcileable to the *Agents* and *Principles*, which are *in the same condemnation*, for prodigious impiety and flagitiousness? Especially, when it shall be considered, how *emphatically*, how *pathetically David* expresseth his *sense* of this horrid action, which I shall lay before your consideration in the handling of the *Third* and *Last Part* of my Text.

And as *he was mistaken* by the confident Presumptions of the Murderer.

Thirdly, The *Quomodo*, or manner of *Davids Expression* of the violence of those *Passions*, which he inwardly felt upon occasion of this *Relation*; which (as I told you before) is by way of sharp and *cutting Interrogation*.

Part 3. *Quomodo.* Or the *Manner* how *David* answers.

Importing, { 1. *Grief.* 2. *Wonder.* 3. *Horrour.* } With

1. *Grief.* Which, how great it was in *Davids* Breast upon this occasion, divers Particulars in the *Text* and *Context* express.

*Grief.*

And those may be reduced to these *two* Heads; (Evidenced in,

1. *Sudden Transports.*
2. *Deliberate and Solemn Acts.*

His *Sudden Transports.* &c

1. For Evidence of his *sudden Transports*, let us but view the 11th. and 12th. verses; where we are told, that he *rent his cloaths*, and put all his *Court* into a like Posture of Mourning. *He mourns, and weeps, and fasts all that day until Even.*

His *Deliberate and Solemn Acts.* )

2. For evidence of his *Deliberate and Solemn Acts*, to testifie his hearty sorrow for this doleful accident, we find him, *v.*17,18. (as I told you in the Preface) penning an *Epicedium* or Funeral-Song, for the constant use both of *himself*, and the *People of Judah*, and commanding it to be set to a Musical *Tune*, and taught them; that this Lamentation might be perpetuated to all posterity. Nor was *Davids* example in this kind altogether *barren*, for we find it afterwards followed by the *godly Jews*, upon occasion of the untimely death of *good Josiah*; they mourned so truly and heartily for him, that the greatness of their sorrow in after-ages grew into a Proverb, [*as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon*, Zech.12.11.] And among their Solemn Lamentations, had one kept on record to Posterity, penned by an holy Prophet, *Lam.*4.20. and perpetuated the solemn remembrance of that heavy stroak by publick Command: For so 2 *Chron.* 35. 24,25. expresseth it at large: *All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah; and Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their Lamentations to this day, and made them an Ordinance in Israel, and behold, they are written in the Lamentations.*

And afterwards, when *Gedaliah* the good Governour left by *Nebuzaradan*, was treacherously slain by *Ishmael*, *Jer.*41.1,2. We find there was an *Annual Fast* appointed, and observed till after the return from Captivity, upon the *Moneth* wherein he was slain, as the most judicious Interpreters expound the *Fast of the* 7th. *Moneth*, Zech.7.5. Which Examples loudly call for *like* deep and solemn *Impressions* and *Expressions* of heartiest sorrow from all Loyal Subjects upon like *Accidents*, and abundantly justifie the *Annual Solemnization* of *this Day*; (especially if we consider, how great a *Losse* these Kingdoms suffered, and how great a *Guilt* they contracted by the Lamentable Providence that occasioned it: Of which, more plentifully anon. Indeed the *Tears of Subjects* are the best *Spices* to embalm a *Soveraigns Memory* withal; nor can there be a louder attestation to the *Deserts of a Prince*, than that his *Losse* is bewailed as a *Common Calamity*. Upon which

which account it is, that God promiseth it as a signal Mercy to the hopeful *Son* of wicked *Jeroboam*, that *all Israel should mourn for him*, 1 Kings 14.13. and threatens it as a heavy judgment on *Jehoiakim*, the wicked Son of good *Josiah*, that he *should be buried with the Burial of an Asse*, thrown in a ditch, without any *one to mourn or lament for him*, neither *Brother*, nor *Sister*, nor *Subject*, Jer.22.18,19.

2. *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, at the strangeness of the accident, and boldness of the Villain, in first daring to *act*, and then, not blushing to *relate* that fearful wickedness. And fit it is that such *Monsters* wherever they are found, should still set the whole world at *gaze* in a pious *Amazement*. Which Affection, however in it self it be not so directly *moral*, as some others are, yet it conduceth very much to the exciting of that which *is so*, to wit, an holy *shyness* and *aversation* of mind towards those *Tentations*, which we are before prepossessed against with a *potent prejudice*, as so many *monstrous* and *portentous Births of hellish wickedness*: Which apprehensions whosoever hath, concerning the detestable sin of *King-killing*, will quickly improve it unto, *Wonder*,

3. *Abomination* and *Abhorrency*: the third Passion, wherein *David* expresseth his sense of this horrid Fact. For we may very well suppose that his *tender* and *delicate Conscience* presently took an *Alarm* from the *Amalekites* brazen-faced *Relation*, and *rallied* all the Spirits in his Body, to the *Fort-Royal of his Heart*, to fortifie it against the *pestilential breath* of such a *prodigious Monster*; and thence it shot forth the *Darts* of fiery indignation in the *Frowns of his Royal Countenance*, and sharpned every *hair of his head* into a *Porcupines Quill*, which extream horrour erected (as it were of purpose) to fly in the *Face* of the *detestable Object*. All this, and more, presents it self to our apprehension, in the Form of this *stinging Interrogation*, wherein, *Quot Verba, Tot Tonitrua*; every word is a Clap of Thunder, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?* and *Horrour* or *Abomination*

And indeed, nothing lesse than such an *Hyperbole of abomination* will serve to express, as it ought, the *just sense* which those who will imitate *David* in either of his forementioned Capacities, (whether of *good men* or *good Magistrates*) ought to have of that βδέλυγμα τερατῶδες, that monstrous *steam* of *Hell*, and *stench* of the *bottomless Pit*, which breaths out of the mouths of those *unclean*

*Beasts*, and *Lying Prophets*, (*whose Throats* are worse than *an open Sepulcher*) by whom the sin of *King-killing* (which *David* and every good man so startles at) is not only proclaimed *Lawful*, but extolled as *meritorious*; and much more, of that *unpriviledgeous*, or *Abomination of Desolation*, (the *practise* of that monstrous *Principle*) when (especially) it shall be *set up in the holy place*, and *worshipped* in the thoughts of deluded Creatures, as a *distinguishing Character of eminent holiness*.

II. *Second View* of the *Text*. *As accomodable* to the *Occasion*.

And thus (at last, have I done with the *Text*, as it relates to the *Chapter* and *Narrative* contained in it, together with the *Doctrine* and *Inferences* (in general) comprehended therein. It only remains, that I *review* them in this place, as they may be *accomodated* by way of *Parallel* to the sad *occasion of this daies Solemnity*.

The *Parallel* relating to the *Parts* of the Text.

And truly, when I thought of finding out a *parallel Text of Scripture* to the *Text of Providence*, which this sad day cals to our Remembrance, I must confesse, I found my self at an unusual loss. *Many Kings* deaths are recorded in Sacred Writ, and divers of them *violent* and *bloudy*; and divers of them *brought about* by the hands of *Rebellious* and *Traiterous Subjects*. But to match all the Circumstances of the *most execrable Murder* of our *Late Gracious Soveraign*, I know none that can tolerably pretend unto it.

In the *First*, (expressing the *Horridness of the Sin*.)

That which my Text attempts towards it, lies rather in the parallel which should be between *Davids Spirit* and *ours*, upon so sad an occasion (for which end mainly I made choice of it) then that which may be supposed between *Sauls Person* and *Death* and his *Majesties*, which are (almost altogether) *unparalleleable*. And therefore in those short *Touches of Collation*, which I shall bestow upon them, I must of necessity compare them, and what befell them, in their *discrepancies*; as that *Painter*, who to set off the vast bigness of an *Elephant*, draws a *Mouse* by his side.

How far it *holds*: & VVhere it *halts*, viz.

It is true indeed, that in *some of the aggravations* of the horrid murder committed upon them *both*, the *Parallel holds*. That *both* were *Kings*, *Anointed*, and the *Lords Anointed*, and *both murdered by Subjects*; but the *differences* are far more in the rest of the Circumstances, and those so *vast*, that the power of Invention can hardly bring them nearer to one another, than the *two Poles*.

1. Consider

1. Consider we the *Person Murdered* (our Late *Gracious*, and now *Glorious Soveraign.*) A person (take him either as *Man*, or *King*) of a Temper so far different from *Sauls*, that as the one seemed to be composed of *Cruelty*, so the other seemed to have nothing in his Constitution but *Clemency*. A person (in both capacities, both of *Man* and *King*) so free, not only from the *guilt*, but even from the *suspition* of any enormous Crime, that the malice of his Accusers themselves, could find nothing to stuffe out that *Black Charge* which they laid against him, but the *unhappy Contests* between *Himself* and his *Subjects* (the sad Issues of *mutual Jealousies*, blown up into an *open War* by a Divine *Blast* upon *all those Counsels*, which might have *prevented* it, and a just immission of an *evil Spirit of Perversities to mingle with them*, and render them ineffectual, for the just punishment of our *sins*) which indeed were his *Infelicity*, but their *guilt*, who first made the Breach, and afterwards (as much as in them lay) hindred the *making it up*, because their own Conscience of having unpardonably offended him, told them, they could expect no *Security*, but in his *Ruine*. A Person and *King*, of so elevated a size, both for *Intellectual* and *Moral* Endowments, that the stature of his *inward man*, as much overtopped the most accomplished of his Subjects, as *Sauls outward man* did overlook the rest of the *Israelites*, 1 Sam. 10. 23.

In the difference between the *Persons* murdered; King *Saul* & King *Charles*. (Occasioning a short *Character* of our *late Soveraign.*)

For his *Intellectuals*: He was endowed with such an height of *Phancy*, as would have won him the *Laurel* in a Commonwealth of *Poets*. He was Master of so sublime a *Grandeur* of Language, and stately *Majesticalness*, joyned with an amiable fluency of *Style*, as might have challenged a *Dictatorship* among the best of *Orators*; of which his *Royal Remains* are an indisputable evidence. And for *Soundness of Judgment*, both in Points of *Controversie*, and Cases of *Conscience*, he might have challenged the *Theological Chair*, upon the account of meer worth, and have sate not only *Regius Professor*, but *Rex Professorum*, in both *Universities*.

For his *Morals*: He was *Just*, *Valiant*, *Temperate*, *Chast*, *Merciful* (and what not?) to such a proportion, as he might have set the best of his Subjects a Copy of vertue in his own example.

Indeed he was a *Prince* who might have passed clear with the universal reputation of the best of *English Kings*, had he not fain into the *worst of Times*, wherein the *English Manners* were so debauched

bauched with the blandiſhments of a long continued tranquillity and plenty; and their *judgements* ſo intoxicated with prejudice, and cenſoriouſneſſe, that too too many neither *loved* the *practiſe* of vertue themſelves, nor would willingly *allow* the *reputation* of it to others.

A *King*, whom if we had not by our ſins rendred our ſelves unworthy to *enjoy* longer, we had been (it may be to this day) in danger of nothing more then being *ſurfeited* with our own *felicity*. And that we *enjoyed him not*, all the world muſt bear him witneſs, it was not *his fault*, ſeeing in that *laſt* and *fatall Treaty* (as Providence made it) at *Newport*, he ſhewed ſo great a deſire in his *Gracious Condeſcenſions* to *make his people happy*, that he even forgot he had *any ſhare of his own* to challenge among them; having indeed *given* them *all*, but (what he could not part with) that *Sovereign gooduesſe* of diſpoſition, which was the only thing (almoſt) that he had left, beſides the redintigrated *affections of his people*, (divers of whom began then to *know* him *better*, and therefore *valued* him the *more*, out of conviction that they had ignorantly perſecuted him) to ſupport his *Throne* withall. So that, I muſt needs ſay it was the *fatall infatuation*, and *infelicity* of theſe Nations, that *they knew not in the day of their viſitation the things that belonged to their peace:* and therefore were they (by the righteous judgement of God) for a full *decad* of years and *more*, juſtly *hid from their eyes*.

*O fortunatos nimium bona ſi ſua nôſſent*
*Anglicolas!* ———

And for his *Religion*, This I think may ſafely be ſaid without exception from any, but ſuch as all *Religions* may bluſh to *own*, that if the imployment of his *ſerener hours* were of a piece with the entertainment of his *Solitudes and Sufferings*; that man is not *enough Chriſtian* himſelf, who can admit a diſpute in his own boſom, whether he ought not to be ranked among the *chiefeſt of Chriſtians:* or, if (as ſome ſuppoſe) his *Afflictions* were the *School* wherein he received the *firſt elements* of *practical Piety*, this (in deed and truth) is ſo far from being a *diſparagement* to him, that it renders him ſo much more the *ſubject* of all good mens *admiration* and *aſtoniſhment*, for making ſo wonderfull a proficiency in ſo ſhort a time, as the digeſting into practice the whole Doctrine and Example of his

*Maſter*

*Master Christ*, and especially so much as related to the *last passages* of his life, proclaims to all the world.

And if in some *modes* and other *circumstantials* of his *Profession*, he pleased not *all men*, yea possibly might distaste some *good men*; yet (even in these) his *conscientious constancy* (and no other principle could prevail with him, when all his earthly enjoyments were apparently adventured to a desperate irrecoverablenesse by his adhering to them) ought not to be *displeasing* to *any*. Especially when we consider, how many *principles* and *practises* of far *greater incompatibility* with *true piety*, must be allowed, to make the Religion of *some* persons currant, who most disparage *His*.

And indeed, whatever we thought of him *living* (as to his *Religion*,) the consequences of his *death* too sadly evidenced, how much the *Protestant Cause* was concerned in his *preservation*: and especially, the sad face of this *Orphan-Church of ours*, which from that time forwards, became the lamentablest scene of *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, that ever was seen in the *Christian world*, not excepting *Munster* it self, that saw but the *prologue* to our *Tragedy*. For who knows not, that whatever *Persons* or *Parties* stepped up into His vacant Seat, made it the Master-piece of their *policy* (like self-seeking Chirurgions) to keep our *wounds* open, that they might keep *themselves* in *practise*: and to maintain opposite Factions to peck at *one another*, that whiles the people were busied in *private contests*, they might be the lesse sensible of their *publique oppressions*. Insomuch, that the sad revival of *old Heresies* and *Schismes* (every one of which carried a *Legion* of *new ones* in its belly) together with the apparent *dangers of extirpation* to the *true Protestant Religion*, and all its *Professors*, for many years together since our sins removed Him from us, have *convinced* not a few, that he was not so much to blame, as was too commonly thought, for not giving His consent to those *violent* and *sudden changes* which their *misguided zeal* (among many others alike mis-led,) in those times too importunately *called for*. And no doubt, if he had lived to have perfected his own designed *Modell* for the *Churches settlement*, most of those *dissentions* that have been of late (and yet are) too *flagrant* among us, had long before they arrived at this *maturity*, been buried in the *grave of oblivion*, not so much by *suppressing*, as by *reconciling* the Dissenters. But, as *David* when he had collected *materials* for the building of the *Temple*, was fain to *leave* them

then with his Advice and Benediction to his *Son Solomon* to make use of: So our *Gracious Soveraign*, being not permitted by Providence to live to see the *Rearing* of that *Structure*, which he intended, hath left such *Materials* behind him, together with his Fatherly *Charge* and *Blessing*, for this happy work, to his *Genuine Son* and *Lawful Successor*, *our present Gracious King* (whom God long preserve) that we no waies doubt, but (as they are wonderful suitable to the Moderation of his *Majesties* temper, so) they will in due time be successfully made use of by him to the Happy Settlement of *these Churches* with the infinite *Contentment* of all those that *love the Peace of Jerusalem*.

In the mean while, if by what I have said concerning the *Person*, whose *Funeral Anniversary*, this Day is appointed to solemnize (and I am afraid I have rather injur'd his *Memory*, by saying *too little*, than the *Truth*, by saying *too much* of him) you be in any measure sensible of the *Loss* you suffered by his violent removal, I hope you are the better prepared to entertain the *next Consideration*, wherein this *accursed Paricide* exceeded that of *Saul* in my *Text*; and that is,

*As* also in the difference between the Murderers of both.

2. The View of the *Persons who committed this horrid Act*: And here our *Parallel halts* again. Had they been *Native Forreigners*, as the *Amalekite* in my *Text* was, and as he was (in probability) educated in a *Heathen Religion*, and sowred with the Leaven of *National Enmity*, heightned with the provocation of an *universal Massacre*, acted by the person they so barbarously murdered, upon all their *dearest Relations*, the *Crime* had been *more pardonable*; but these *Paricides* were his *Majesties Native Subjects*, that had drawn their *first Breath* in his *Hereditary Dominions*, & to this *Natural Bond of Allegiance*, had voluntarily added divers stronger Tyes of *religious Oaths*, *Protestations and Covenants*; yea, some of those that *lifted up* not their *Heels* only, but their *Hands* against him, were such as did eat of his *Bread*, his own *sworn Servants*, none of them *disobliged* by any such *Provocations of cruel Usages*, so that it is hard to imagine, how it might be possible to load a Malefactor with more *personal aggravating Considerations*, to render him *monstrously criminal*, than these were notoriously guilty of; except only, that *one* (which like a vast *Mountain*, overtops all the rest) that they were Persons of the *Professed True Religion*, and in that Profession, coveted to engross the Reputation of the most *eminently strict and*

*Conscientious*

*Conscientious.* And indeed, this is an aggravation, which ought beyond all others, to *whet the indignation* of every Conscientious Christian to a *keenness* beyond all moderation, as that which is most *highly injurious* to the whole *Reformed Cause* throughout all the world. O *tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askalon, lest the Daughters of the Philistines rejoyce!* Alas! What *sport* hath this sad scandal already made, and how much more may it yet make, to the *Romish Emissaries*, whose *Religion* hath been wonted to raise *Rebellions*, and to canonize for *Saints*, the most prodigious *Traytors*; and hath alone born the *odium* of monopolizing the guilt of *murdering Princes*, for many ages; that they have now too colourable a pretence to discharge a part of that guilt upon those of the *Protestant Communion*, as being hereby become *Fratres in malo*, Brethren in this horrid wickedness with themselves! An *Occasion* which we confess we have cause to bewail, because they make *such use* of it: But we must withal tell them, that we think our *Profession* no way touched in its *reputation* thereby, in the judgment of any whom *inveterate Malice* doth not prejudicate against us. For besides, that the *Persons* ingaged in this *horrid Act*, were (most of them) departed from the *Protestant Faith* or *Communion*, or both, before they ingaged in this *horrid Villany*, (and so can no more justly reflect the guilt thereof upon the Church they once belonged to, than a *Renegado's* miscarriages can concern the *Troop* which he hath forsaken) Let the *Romanist* know, that no such *Fruit* ever grew upon the *root* of *Protestant Doctrines*, which abhor and detest all such Principles, and execrate all such Offenders; and (by consequence) if any persons who professed themselves *Protestants*, were guilty of this *Barbarous Fact*, *Protestancy* it self is no more concerned in it, than any State is in the Crimes of other Malefactors, who suffer daily by the Sword of Justice, for *Robberies*, *Murders*, and *Burglaries*, without any imputation upon the Community to which they belong; which sufficiently vindicates it self, by the *Laws* provided against such Crimes, and the *Severity* executed upon those who commit them, from any partnership in them.

V. 20.

(Occasioning a *Vindication* of the *Protestant Religion* from *Romish Calumnies.*)

In a word, when the *Romanist* can shew us any such *Tenets* as these, publickly avowed by *general consent of Protestants*, [That *Christ hath left a power to any Person or Persons in his Church to dispose of all Crowns and Scepters, and hath subordinated the Temporal to the spiri-*

*tual Sword: And that Soveraign Princes being once blasted by the Thunderbolts of that Church, may be lawfully deposed and murdered by their Subjects; and that Subjects (in such a case) are absolved from all Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance to them,* &c.] let them impute the guilt of this horrid Crime to us, and spare not: but so long as we, and they notoriously know, *whose Doctrines* these are, it is no hard matter to guess, *what Heifer* those Seditious Seminaries *ploughed with*, and at whose *Forge* they sharpned their *Goads*, and *Plow-shares*, who *sowed* the *Tares*, of such *Traiterous Principles*, in the field of our *English Church* and *Commonwealth*.

However (for our fuller vindication in this Particular) let every true *Protestant* for ever abominate the *Memory* of those Monsters, and detest their *Principles*, who have thus opened the mouths of our *Adversaries* against our *Religion*, and laid such a stumbling-block of prejudice in the way of those poor seduced creatures among us, who are thereby hardned in the distance they keep from us and our Communion.

And the vast *disproportion* between the *Facts themselves*.

3. A *Third Consideration* to amplifie the horrid murder of our *Late Soveraign*, beyond that of *Saul*, may be taken from *the Fact it self*: Which although (in the case of *Saul*) it hath already been charged with,

1. *Bloudiness*. 2. *Wilfulness*. And 3. *Audaciousness* enough: Yet in *all these*, our part of the *Parallel* weighs much heavier than that. The *Amalekites Fact* was a *Smoking Business*, acted in a *Corner*, so that it had not been known, but by his own Relation. But this was a *Publick Tragedy*, in all the Acts of it, wherein the *Conspirators*, made all the world *Spectators* of their *audacious Effrontery*. Here was a *Pageantry of Publick Justice*, an *High Court* solemnly convened, a *Bench*, and a *Bar*, a *President*, and a *Prisoner*, an *Inditement*, and a *Prosecution*, and a *Sentence*, and all these, in the most publick place of Judicature in the three Nations. And after this, a *Bloudy Execution*, not in a *Corner*, but in the *open Street*, in the *Face of the Sun*, as if they meant (with a kind of defiance to *God himself*) to call him in, as a publick Spectator, to behold how insolently they trampled upon his *Authority*, in his undoubted *Vicegerent*. A *Tragedy*, which in all the *Acts* and *Scenes* of it, I am confident all the *Histories* in the world cannot match. Many *Kings* have died by the *Sword*, by the *Dagger* and the *Pistol*; many by *poysonous Drugs*, and other such Instruments

of

of *private* and clandestine ambition, or revenge: But never *any* till this black day, by the *Executioners Axe*, upon a *publick Scaffold*, in the *Front* of His own *Royal Palace, &c.* Nay more, if a Survey were made of all the *Utopian Inventions* of *Poetical Fancy*, no *Stage* ever had a *Tragedy* like this *acted* upon it. No *Fabulous or feigned History* ever adventured a *Relation* like it to the eyes of the world: And indeed sober Readers would have disgusted them, if they had, upon the very account of the *monstrousness* of it, and taxed the Author with an unpardonable Errour, for transgressing the ordinary Rule of Fiction, the *subject matter* whereof, must be such as seems to carry an *appearance of Truth*, and though it be not *verum*, yet it is *verisimile*. So that here was a *confluence* of all that *wilful* projected *Cruelty* and *Insolence* could contribute to the aggravation of a Villany.

*Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris. Nec quodcunq; volet, poscat sibi fabula credi.* Hor. *Art. Poet.*

4. To shew the *Parallel* yet more *unparallel*, in the case of our *late Soveraign*, his Murderers had *none* of all those *Pleas* to excuse their wickedness, which before have been urged on the behalf of the *Amalekite*. For,

1. They made it *too publick* to render it any way disputable, whether *they were the Persons* who did the Fact or no. And after they had done it, they *gloried* in it as an act of *Transcendent Justice*, and took pride to be *pointed at* for it.

*None of the Amalekites Pleas, pleadable* for *this.*

2. *So far* was our *murdered Soveraign* from being (as *Saul* was) a *Tyrant* and a *Murderer*; that none ever lost *Life* or *Limb* by his *Authority*, but in a *course of Justice*, or by the *chance of war*. And if he were an *Enemy* to any true *Davids* (which some object to him as a Crime) it was his *Infelicity* not to *understand* them to be *such*, which occasioned it; and I am confident, if any such there be, who had cause to complain of hard usage from him, they are so far *Davids* still, that they will give the Murderers as *little thanks* for *rescuing* them from their Sufferings, in *such a way*, as he did this *Amalekite*.

3. *So far* was he from being *weary of his Life*, and desiring the *courtesie of a dispatch* out of it, that he strongly and unanswerably asserted to the faces of his Murderers his *Right* both to his *Life* and *Crown*.

4. *So far* was he from an *inevitable necessity of dying* at that time, either by *natural Infirmity*, or accidental *stroak of Providence*, that he was in the very *Prime of his Age*, *Health* and *Strength*.

5. *So far* was he from being *pursued by any Enemies* but themselves, that he had but newly concluded a *reconciling Treaty* with those who had fought against him, whose *Arms* and *Hearts* were with a wonderful alacrity *open* to receive him, and *expiate* all former *unkindnesses* with all possible Demonstrations of *Affectionate Loyalty*.

6. *So far* were his Murderers from *lighting occasionally upon a temptation* to this Fact, and being *surprized by the unexpectednes* thereof, that it was the issue of a Conspiracy of *divers years* before.

7. *So far* were they from being clear of the *design of enriching themselves with the Royal Spoyles*, that (like *Ahab*) they had no sooner *killed*, but they presently fell to *taking possession* of all the *Royal Lands* and *Revenews*, and distributed them amongst themselves: And whereas this *Amalekite*, after he had done the Fact, he took the *Crown* and *Bracelets of Saul*, & returned them to his *Lawful Successor*; these barbarous Murderers to make good their unjust possession) exclude his undoubted *Heir* and *Successor*, for many years, from his *unquestionable Rights*, and put *God himself* to the expense of a *Miracle* at last to restore him.

8. And Lastly, *So* far were they from *bewailing the Fact, when they had done it*, that (as I before told you) they *triumphed* in it, as the most *Righteous*, *Heroick* and *Meritorious Act*, that ever was done by men. And some of them expressed an ambition to perpetuate the memory of their Names by no other *Epitaph*; yea, when Gods *Justice* and mans overtook them, and brought them to deserved *Execution*, took the Confidence to challenge a *Crown of Martyrdom* in the Kingdom of Glory, and prefer the *Cause* wherein they suffered, before *those of the chiefest of Martyrs*; and abused themselves with a Rodomantick perswasion, that *it were a piece of ambition, becoming the most eminent of that noble Society, to desire an Exchange of condition with them*. The saddest Instances of the *efficacy of delusion* that ever the world saw from its first Creation to that very day.

The *Conclusion* in a serious *application* of the other two *parts* of the *Text*, expressing a desire that in these the *Parallel* may hold between *David* and *us*: Or rather that we may *exceed* him (as there is great cause)

And thus have I done with my *Parallel* so far as it concerns the *Circumstances* of the two *Facts*, the *one* of the *Text*, and the *other* of the *Time*; wherein there is little to be seen, but *Concordia discors*, an *agreement* in nothing but *this*, that there is *scarce any Circumstance wherein they agree*. I have only this to add, that I hope to find a *better Harmony* in the *other Part* of it, which comes now

to

to hand; [the *Parallel* of *Davids carriage* upon the *one*, and the *Temper* of all *Religious Hearts* among us, and the Generations that are to come, in reference to the *other*] containing the *due sense* which as *he had*, so *we ought to have*, of so detestable and peculiar a Fact, and dismal a Providence: Which *sense* (according to the forementioned distribution) ought to express it self in *three* things.

1. *Grief*; of which *David* had far *less* cause than we, upon a *fourfold* account.

In our *Grief*, For the *Loss received*.

1. Of the *Loss received*: Which (in *Davids* case) was inconsiderable, if compared with *ours*, He indeed lost a *Soveraign*, valiant enough *to fight the Lords Battels*, and one, who by his conduct, had divers times *saved Israel*; but one who was now in his *Wane* and *Declination*; so that (whatsoever *David* in modesty thought of him) the *Loss of Saul* was *Israels gain*, by making room for a better Successor, *himself*.

But *our loss* was like the dropping of a *skilful Pilot* overboard, when the *Ship* under his conduct, was in the very *Mouth of the haven*, and big with expectation of *landing* its precious Merchandise, but (by that sad accident) cast into the hands of *raw*, and *rash* and *mutinous Seamen*; whose indiscretions and animosities have cast us back again into a *tempestuous Sea*, wherein we have for many years been *tossed up and down*, with unspeakable hazard, till at last God by a Miraculous Providence, brought to our help, a *Phœnix raised out* of his *Ashes*, the *true Heir*, both of his *Kingdoms* and *Vertues*, who hath once more brought us within *sight of Land*, and we hope will (if our sins obstruct not his endeavours) *set us safe on shore*. To prevent which mischief, we ought to *grieve* (as we have cause) more then *David*.

2. Upon account of *those sins* (in general) which provoked God to take him from us. *David* knew, that God had *cast off* formerly, and now *cut off Saul* for his *own* sins, not *his*. But we have cause enough to charge this losse upon *our own provoking sins*, which (at that time, and since) have been too notoriously apparent to God and the world: Such as, *Contempt of Gods Word and Sacraments, Reproaching and persecuting his Faithful Messengers, Wanton affecting of new Notions and Inventions, and contemning old Truths, and the primitive simplicity of the Gospel, Uncharitable schismes and separations in the Church, and ambitious self-seeking*, and (in order

and *our sins* (in general) provoking God to inflict it: (Whereof some are expressed; (the peoples.)

order thereunto, *fomenting Factions in the State, Sacrilegious robbing of God, and barbarous spoyling and destroying one another with a* rage reaching up to Heaven, *Notorious Debauchery and Prophanes in all sorts and degrees of men, which spared neither Gods Name, nor his Sabbaths, nor his Creatures, nor the Profession of Religion in the life and power of it, toleration of Popery, and other dangerous Errors and Heresies*, and (to make our Ephah of sins yet fuller) a *Spirit of Rebellion* spread over the whole Nation, against *just and lawful Authority*; and many more might be added to this *Black Roll*, but that I hasten to an end.

And was it not time (think you) for God to be *avenged of such a Nation as this* was? and I would to God (I could with a clear Conscience) stop at *was*: But I fear, it may, with too much evidence of Truth be added, and *yet is*. And who could tax that Justice, which by his Providence suffered us to *cut* through that *Bank* with our own hands, which (under himself) kept out that *Deluge of Miseries*, which our sins deserved, and *fell down* that *Royal Tree*, in the *Branches* whereof our several *Nests* were *built*. And oh! Let us fear, lest by the continued guilt of the *same sins*, we procure a *Decree of the Watchers*, to cut down those *Royal shoots*, that have grown up in his stead (and he hath begun with them already, under sad losse) and not leave so much as a *stump* in the earth, out of which a *Rod* may grow, to *make a Scepter* of.

The *Thrones* waved,

But (possibly) here I may be interrupted with a *Question*: whether *all the Faults which provoked God to inflict such a severe stroak, were in the People, and not* the Throne *altogether guiltless*.

To which I *answer*; That I doubt not but *personal sins*, and acts of *mis-government* towards the people under their charge, are incident to *Kings* as well as to *persons* of a *lower degree*. And I dare not perswade my self or others, that our *late Sovereign* was *so much Saint*, as to be *altogether free*; nay he was *so much Saint*, as (more then once) to *confesse miscarriages in his Government*. But I must tell the enquirers withall, that I do not believe him one half so criminal, as popular prejudice, blown up by the breath of factious spirits endeavoured to make him. And for what was *really amisse in him*, I have this to plead, That *Kings* are persons under such *Tentations*, as *Vulgar capacities* do not understand: that because of their *authority* and publique influence, the *Tempter thrusts sorer* at them then ordinary, *that they may fall*; that *God*

and why.)

Psal.118.13.

doth

doth sometimes *lead them into Temptation*, because his *wrath is kindled against their people*; that (in Scripture) those who have the commendation of Gods Spirit for the *best of Kings*, (*David* and *Solomon*) have yet more and fouler spots upon their Names, than K. *Charles*; and that were the busie enquirers into, and censurers of *Kings faults* a while in *their places*, I fear they would commit *more* and *greater*. Let the *Questionist* if he can, answer me *this Question*, *Si fueris tu Leo, qualis eris?* 2. Sam. 24. 1.

In a *word*, Were I sufficiently instructed in the *Cabinet affairs* of our *late Sovereign*, and had I a *revelation* withall afforded me, to discover the *secret springs* of those *Counsels* upon which he acted, and his own mind in acting; and were I inabled thereby to conclude him really guilty of whatever, and more, then what malice and prejudice have ever charged him withall, I should think my self obliged to do (what is the duty of every *good man*) that *right* to his *memory*, as to *bury his errours and miscarriages* in his grave, and *proclaim his vertues* as Royal examples to all Posterity. The Lord discover to his *Sacred Majesty*, who now fils his *Seat*, (to whom this enquiry is more proper then to us) both *these* and *those*, that he may render his *vertues immortal* by *imitation*, and wash off the guilt of his *failings*, (if any such adhere to the *Throne*) by deprecating the imputation of them, and avoiding the incursion of the like. And let us help him herein in our *prayers*, and encourage him by our *loyal affections* and *obedience*; and *amend our own lives* the rather, upon the account of the *love* we bear to *his prosperity*; to whom our *sins* (whatever they are) are *Traitors*, though our *selves* be never so *loyal* and *affectionate subjects*.

2. Let us grieve (and herein I am sure *David* had not so much cause by *Sauls* own frequent confession) for that *special guilt* which the *Nation in general*, and *particular persons* in great multitudes every where have contracted, by any way *furthering antecedently*, or *abetting consequentially*, so horrid and execrable a murther. And for any sort of *partnership* in *this* particular *horrid fact*,

Let no *Person* or *Party* think to shift off *this duty*, as that which only concerns such and such, who had the unhappinesse to appear in a *contrary engagement* to him *in the field*, (divers of whom, as hath appeared by many real evidences, have vindicated their integrity (with *David*) in this particular, notwithstanding the foul reflections of some irreconcileable Zealots, (whose heat no *Acts of Indemnity* or *Oblivion* can slake) I say, let no man shift off this (which few are clear of.)

guilt.

guilt upon *others*, because he was engaged in a *Party* or *Interest* lesse obnoxious to such an imputation: For, by that time we all have seriously examined our selves upon these weighty *Interrogatories*, Whether we have not (*antecedently* to this sad accident) had an hand in the heightning *animosities*, and fomenting the *differences*, whether Religious or Civil, and sowing *prejudices* and *jealousies*, which gave occasion to the *publick contests*? Nay, whether we *did what we might*, and to the utmost of our power, to keep them from *arriving at such an height*? And whether (*during* the civil broyls) we (setting aside the consideration of the Quarrel, which (I hope) we shall all strive to remember no more) have not been guilty of such unjust *oppressions*, and *exactions*, and *violences*, as exasperated *opposite parties* into an irreconcileablenesse? Nay further, whether we *interposed* (*at the time* wherein that bloody Tragedy was acting) in all such waies as were within the compasse of our capacity *to hinder it*? *Some* did indeed, but how *few* to the body of the Nation? Nay rather, whether we did not, by *Petition*, or other encouragement, *promote* it? Or if not, yet, whether we *mourned* for it, and *deprecated* the *guilt* of it? Whether we *declared* (*after* the sad blow given) our just *abomination* and *detestation* of the fact in our several places and capacities? *Some* indeed did (and let it be remembred to their everlasting honour that they did so,) but how *many* were there (who should have been more bold in such a cause) in *whose mouthes there were no reproofs*? And lastly, Whether (*ex post facto*) we have not *justified* the fact, by *flattering Addresses* to the pretended Authority, of those who *usurped* the *Royal Power* successively? Whether we have not *laid our hands unjustly* upon any of the *Royal Revenues*? Whether we have not *contributed Money* or *Arms* towards the *opposition* of his *present Majesties restitution*? And (in a word) Whether we swallowed not the execrable *Engagement* against *Kingship* it self, which very few (except only some *nice Consciences* here and there, who valued their *Allegiance* at an higher rate) refused to subscribe? I say, by that time every ones Conscience hath seriously answered *these Interrogatories*, and many such more as may be made, it will be well if *Centesimus quisq*; one of an hundred can before *God* and his own *serious Conscience*, say, *I am altogether innocent of this blood.* O, that our *Repentance* might be as general as our *Guilt*; and that we might not by casting it in *each others* Faces, think to clear *our selves*,

*selves* from that which must be discharged and blotted out only upon our *particular* and *personal repentance.*

4. And Lastly, Let us (as common *Christianity* binds us) *grieve for those* who will not be perswaded to *grieve for themselves*, but are so *obdurate* in the error of their *seduced Consciences*, that they secretly *applaud themselves*, and *canonize others* for *Saints of an eminent Rank*, upon the bare account of their influence upon, and engagement in this *abominable Act*. Alas! Poor seduced Creatures! Can you imagine that God will own it as a piece of *merit* in you or any other, that you affront, and contemn, and injure (with the utmost indignity) his *own deputed Authority?* Would any of you, *si parvis componere magna liceret*, account your selves obliged by him who with the utmost strength he can make, attempts the molestation or dispossession of a *Tenant* that holds in *your right?* Did you ever read in any Scriptural or Church-Records, that any Person was ever accounted a *Martyr*, that suffered for *conspiring*, and much less, for *murdering* his Lawful *Soveraign*; excepting only the *Black Kalendar of the Apostate Church of Rome?* And shall those who bid the greatest defiance to *Popery* in their Profession, forsake all the Churches of Christ in all Ages of the world, to adhere to them, in a matter of such concernment, and justifie *Beckets* and *Garnets*, and other such *Traytor-Saints*, by vindicating them, in comparison to whom, they were Saints indeed? O, let us pray for the Conviction of these deluded Souls, and if our Prayers prevail not, let us *weep for them in secret*; though they laugh never so much at our tenderness towards them, as a *foolish pity*; and prophanely *bless themselves* from our *Charity*, which their erroneous Consciences judge *mistaken.*

And (lastly) for *those who are hardned* in the *guilt of this sin.*

2. *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, at the monstrous *Confidence* which animated those Wretches who presumed to *sit in Judgment*, and *pass Sentence of Condemnation* upon their *Lawful Soveraign*, and (after 12 years time vouchsafed them by God to repent in, before his Vengeance found them out) would fain perswade *God* by their *Prayers*, and the *World* by their *Speeches*, that they dyed with *Consciences so innocent*, in *this matter*, as to need *no repentance.* I profess solemnly, I was never more *surprized with admiration*, at any thing in my life, than I was upon the accidental view of that *dangerous insinuating piece* (the poyson whereof (I fear) hath infected hundreds of ignorant and well-meaning people) *The Relati-*

and in our *wonder* at the amazing confidence of the *late executed Traytors.*

on of the last Passages of the late detestable Traytors; and that, to see how *Omnipotent a Deceiver* (if I may so speak) that *Spirit of Error* and *Delusion* is, that can so artificially extract *Heaven* out of *Hell*, and not only *Charm Conscience* (even upon the very Brink of Eternity) into a *sleep*, but *impose* upon it with such a *Charm* as to absolve and justifie in so high a manner those *Offenders*, and so *many of them* (except we will suppose a Confederacy in such an *uniform resolution*, of purpose designed for the *animating the relicks of a broken Party*, which I can hardly be so uncharitable as to believe) whom both the *Law of God*, and the *Dictates of Nature* in the *Principles of all Nations* under Heaven condemn. For my part, I dare not *judge* their *eternal estate*: But this I must say (for the prevention of any evil *Influence* from their examples) that I would not for 10000 worlds run their *hazard*, for all their *Confidences* and Comforts. And if I had an *Infallible Revelation*, to tell me they were *gone to Heaven*, I should think my self bound, to *keep it in my own Bosom*, lest the publishing of it should occasion the *leading Millions to Hell*; and pray God, to lead me to Heaven in a more *ordinary* and unsuspected *Rode*, and keep me from being carried up to a *Pinacle* of *spiritual Pride* upon the *Devils* shoulders in the shape of an *Angel of Light*.

and *abomination* of the *Principles* that lead to such *horrid Crimes*. Particularly the *Fifth Monarchists*.

3. *Abomination* of those *principles* which tend to the like *Practises*. Of all which (and these late years have been as fruitfull in *Doctrines* of this tendency, as *Africa* is of *Monsters*) there are none more desperate, than those of the *Expectants of a Fifth Monarchy* to be begun in the *personal appearance of Christ upon earth to crush all Earthly Powers, and reign visibly with his Saints a thousand years before the general Resurrection*, which fancy with abundance more strange conceits of like nature, some *confident new Doctors* among them, pretend to gather from the *Prophesies* of *Daniel*, and the *Apocalypse* so evidently, that they have often presumed to set and fix *the time of his appearance*. What a *Spirit* these Principles can *conjure up*, there needs no further evidence then the *desperate attempt* made so lately, by an *inconsiderable number* of the *men of that persuasion*; whiles they are seduced to believe, that to make way for this *Kingdom of Christ*, the *horridest murthers* are *meritorious*, and the *justest executions* for those *murthers*, *Martyrdom*. But alas! poor men, would Christ come to set up a Temporal Kingdom, he hath waies enough of his own to effect it: So that

*Non tali Auxilio, nec Defensoribus istis,*
*Christus eget.*

Christ hath no [illegible] their *Arms* to further it, then we have of their *Principles*, [illegible] *Good Lord deliver us.* AMEN.

FINIS.